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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

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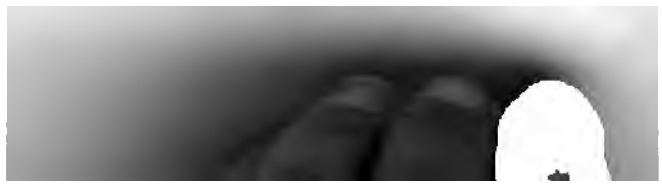

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XIV—1605-1609

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PREFACE

The documents here presented range from 1605 to 1609. Many of them concern the Chinese revolt of 1603 and its results, of which much apprehension still exists; but the threatened danger passes away, and the ordinances excluding the Sangleys from the islands are so relaxed that soon the Parián is as large as in 1603. The usual difficulties between the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities continue; and to the religious orders represented in the islands is added a new one, that of the discalced Augustinians, or Recollects. Acuña conducts an expedition to drive out the Dutch from the Moluccas, and soon afterward dies. Various commercial restrictions hinder the prosperity of the islands; and the new fiscal, Guiral, complains of various illegal and injurious proceedings on the part of officials. The expenses of government are nearly double the amount of the revenues. The province of Cagayán is explored by certain private adventurers, attracted by the prospect of gold-mines.

In July, 1605, several letters of complaint against the archbishop of Manila are sent to the king. Acuña writes that Benavides is arrogant and self-willed, and quarrels with everyone; and suggests that hereafter bishops for the islands be selected more

carefully. The provincial and other high officials of the Augustinian order state that the archbishop's rash utterances had much to do with precipitating the Chinese insurrection, and that his quarrels with the governor are unnecessary and notorious – moreover, he opposes their order in every way; and they ask the king to interpose his authority and restrain Benavides. At the same time the Audiencia complain that he interferes with their proceedings, treats them with little respect, and assumes precedence of them to which he is not entitled.

Interesting documents of similar date touch on the relations of the colony with the Chinese. The archbishop appeals to the Audiencia, in memorials presented June 10 and 13, to accede to the demands of the Chinese emperor by making restitution to the Chinese merchants for property of theirs left in Manila at the time of the insurrection and sold by the Spaniards; and by sending back to their own country those Chinese survivors of the revolt who were sentenced to the galleys. The letter sent to Acuña in March, 1605, by a Chinese official is now answered by the governor (apparently at the beginning of July). He blames the Portuguese of Macao for not having delivered the letters to Chinese officials which he wrote after the Sangley insurrection of 1603; and claims that the Chinese slain therein were themselves to blame for their deaths. To maintain this position, he cites the kindness with which the Chinese in the islands were treated by the Spaniards; and declares that they revolted without provocation, and killed or abused many Spaniards and Indians, and that the survivors were punished with great leniency. He sends a part of the money

due to Chinese merchants who owned property in the islands, and promises to send the rest next year. A letter from one of the auditors at Manila informs the king that the number of Chinese allowed to remain there is now (1605) restricted to one thousand five hundred.

Letters from Acuña (July 1-15) to the king give his usual yearly report of affairs. Reënforcements of troops have arrived from Mexico, very opportunely for the expedition which Acuña is preparing for the recovery of Ternate. He details these preparations, and the condition of his troops and ships. He complains of the opposition which he has encountered from the archbishop and the auditor Maldonado. Various private persons have volunteered to go with him, carrying their own provisions. He plans to leave Panay in February, 1606; and has been informed that the Dutch are preparing a large fleet to drive the Spaniards from the Maluco Islands, and to establish themselves more firmly there than before. Acuña needs more money, to pay his troops in the Maluco campaign; he asks for further supplies, urges the desirability of cutting off the Dutch from their treasury of the Spice Islands, and recommends a vigorous prosecution of hostilities against them. He recommends better adjustment of the soldiers' pay. In another letter Acuña reports the failure of this year's trading voyage to Mexico, one of the ships being compelled to return to port and the other being probably lost – which causes the utmost distress and poverty in the islands. Acuña relates the non-residence in the islands of Gabriel de Ribera, in consequence of which his encomiendas have been taken from him and given to others. The

Moro pirates are apparently disposed to make peace, so Acuña is discussing this with them; but he has little confidence in their promises, except as he can inspire them with fear. The difficulties arising from the slaughter of the Chinese in their revolt of 1603 have been a source of much anxiety to the Spaniards; but these are in a fair way to be settled. The fiscal, Salazar y Salcedo, has died; and the Audiencia has appointed temporarily to that post Rodrigo Diaz Guiral, whom Acuña highly commends. The governor complains that the archbishop has been meddling with his appointments of chaplains for the galleys. He also asks for money to maintain galleys for the defense of the islands. In a third letter Acuña complains of the unjust and tyrannical conduct of the auditor Maldonado, and asks for redress from the king. This evil conduct has been especially noticeable in Maldonado's efforts to secure the hand and property of a wealthy minor heiress.

A group of documents relating to the Dominican mission which reached the islands in 1606 depict the difficulties, besides the long and toilsome voyages, which the missionaries encountered on their journey to the other side of the world. Diego Aduarte, one of the most noted of the Dominican missionaries in the Far East, is in charge of a reënforcement to go to the Philippines, and applies (at some time in 1604) to the officials of the treasury in Spain for the money necessary for their expenses in this journey; a grant for this is made. He furnishes a list of the friars who are to go with him, with the names of the convents that send them. In a document written by Aduarte (January 20, 1605) he relates at length "the difficulties of conducting religious to the Phil-

ippine Islands." The hardships and perils of the long voyage daunt many at the start, and he who is in charge of them must use great discretion in managing them. At the court, he cannot get his documents without much importunity, locomotion, and red tape, and long and tedious delays. The sum of money allowed for the traveling expenses of the missionaries to Sevilla is far too small; and, arriving there, they encounter more red tape and delays. Besides, the amount granted for provisions on the voyage is utterly insufficient, as is also the allowance for the friars' support while waiting for the departure of the fleet. The royal council requires that the list of missionaries be submitted to it for approval, which cannot well be done in the short time which they spend at Sevilla; besides, they are unnecessarily annoyed by the examination to which the council subjects them. Those who finally reach the port of departure are confronted by extortionate demands for fees, which are renewed in mid-ocean, and again on landing in Nueva España, at Mexico, and at Acapulco; and at all these places the missionaries encounter afresh the annoyances and hindrances which had beset them in Spain. Aduarte makes vigorous complaint about these difficulties, and requests the government to make less rigorous rules and more liberal allowances for the missionaries; this petition is partially granted by the authorities.

While the Spanish expedition to the Moluccas is at Tidore, one of the Dutch prisoners is interrogated (March 16, 1606), and his deposition gives various interesting particulars as to the plans and actions of the Dutch in the Spice Islands. He explains the treaty made by them with the ruler of Tidore, the

goods brought by the Dutch for this trade, and their intention of establishing a colony in those islands. Another account of the Chinese insurrection of 1603 is here presented (at this point, because printed in 1606), written by a soldier in the Philippines, but edited by one Maldonado. He describes, in a plain and simple narrative, the circumstances of that revolt; and many of these are not found in the official reports (see VOL. XII). For instance, he relates that a great many religious took part in the defense of Manila; he gives details of each battle with the Chinese, and tells of their attacking the city with machines which overtopped the walls; and describes the sack of the Parián, the slaughter of the Chinese in the villages beyond, and the execution of the ringleaders. At the end of the narrative of the insurrection some additional information is given. The governor sends an envoy to China with the news of this tragic affair. The writer relates bits of news which have come from China to Manila – of ravages occasioned therein by floods, earthquakes, and a war with the Japanese.

In a letter dated July 6, 1606, the Audiencia informs Felipe III of the death of Governor Acuña. New regulations for the commerce of the islands have been received from Spain, of which complaints are made. The amount of the Mexican trade has been limited to two hundred and fifty thousand pesos, and the returns therefor to five hundred thousand pesos; the citizens of the islands claim that this restricts their profits too much, and that they should be permitted to invest a larger sum. This liberty will tend to increase not only their prosperity, but the number of new settlers in the islands. The proposal

to send on each ship from the islands fifty soldiers is quite impracticable, as the ships are too small and crowded. Instead of paying to the men and subordinate officers the salaries and wages proposed by the government, it is better to continue the present system of allowing each to do a little trading for himself. The auditors recommend that some changes be made in the duties levied on goods, which are onerous on the merchants.

By the same mail goes a letter from the new fiscal, reporting to the king the condition of affairs in the islands. He complains that the Sangleys are allowed to remain in Manila, and that this is done by the Audiencia without heeding the remonstrances of the city officials and himself. Many Chinese also come without registry, evading even the slight restrictions heretofore imposed. Their number is steadily increasing, and the Parián is now as large as it was when the revolt occurred. He advises further and more severe restrictions on the Chinese immigration. Guiral also notifies the king that the laws regarding the succession to encomiendas are being constantly violated; and recommends that all which are wrongly held shall be declared vacant and be reassigned. The encomenderos resent his enforcement of the royal decree that they should furnish to the priests who instruct their Indians wine for celebrating mass. He recommends that the matter of granting offices to small encomenderos be further examined. The increase in extent and number of the cattle-farms near Manila causes much damage to the Indians and Guiral recommends that these farms be abandoned within a certain distance of all towns. The peaceful Pampango Indians are frequently harassed by

the head-hunting Zambales; the only way to stop this is to allow the latter to be enslaved by anyone who will capture them. Certain questions regarding the status of children of slaves should now be settled. Guiral makes various recommendations as to the sale of offices and the use of certain funds. The seminary of Santa Potenciana recently lost its house by fire, which has since been rebuilt; the king is asked to aid it. A public-spirited citizen of Manila has established a hospital for Spanish women, and royal aid is asked for this also. The hospital for Spaniards is not properly cared for, and the king is asked to send over hospital brethren of the Order of St. John of God. The guardians of minors often prove unfit for such trust, and they should be called to account by the Audiencia. Disputes having arisen over the rights and prerogatives of the Audiencia in case of their succession *ad interim* to the government of the islands, Guiral asks for the royal decision of such questions. The fiscal complains of the tyrannical conduct of many friars, especially among the Augustinians, toward the Indians; he has opposed this as much as possible, but asks further redress from the king. The coming of the discalced Augustinians (Recollects) has been a useful check on the other branch of that order, especially on its arrogant provincial, Lorenzo de León – of whose unlawful acts Guiral complains, and demands an investigation. He has obliged the stray Indians about Manila to return to their native places; and he asks that those who are retained for the service of the religious orders shall be kept within the allotted number, and that the friars be compelled to pay these servants fairly. The Audiencia has allowed Gabriel de Ri-

bera to resume his encomiendas, vacated by his illegal absence from the islands; and the fiscal asks for correction of this procedure. He advises the king to refuse the claims made by Figueroa's heirs for release from the debts incurred by the conquest of Mindanao; and states that Tello and Morga are the ones responsible for part of these expenses, and for others which were paid from the royal treasury by the Audiencia. Guiral ends by requesting permission to leave the islands as soon as a permanent appointment to his office of fiscal can be made.

Proceedings in the Council of the Indias (August 5 and 15, 1606) deal with Acuña's effort to recover the Maluco Islands from the Dutch, summarizing his letters of July 1-7, 1605, and recommending the measures to be taken by the Spanish government in regard to it. Later advices emphasize Acuña's statements as to the gravity of the situation in the Spice Islands. The Council commend Acuña's action, and advise the king to further his efforts and supply him (from Mexico) with troops and money. The Council of State act thereon, seconding these recommendations, and advising that the archbishop and the Audiencia of Manila be warned not to meddle with affairs of war.

Of special interest to American readers is a royal decree (August 19, 1606) addressed to Governor Acuña, establishing "a way station for Philippine vessels on the Californian coast." The king recounts the results of Vizcaino's exploration on that coast in 1602, and the advantages of Monterey as such station. It is believed that gold abounds in that region, and that many other advantages would accrue from a settlement there. The king appoints Monterey as

a way-station for the Philippine vessels, and Vizcaino as the commander of the expedition to establish it; and directs Acuña to send with him two men from the Philippines to learn all that is necessary about the new station, so that they may command the next galleons from Manila.

The Chinese immigration to the islands continues, the official statement for 1606 showing that over six thousand five hundred land at Manila in that year. On November 4 following, Felipe III sends warning to Acuña not to allow any more of them to remain than are necessary for the service of the community. The king also writes a letter of the same date to the governor, commending his action in sending troops to defend Samar from the Moros, in reducing the expenses of government, and in various other matters; and gives directions for rebuilding the hospital and for certain other measures.

On January 18, 1607, the request of the Jesuits for confirmation of a grant in aid of their seminary for the Indians in Leyte is approved by the royal council. A report is made (July 6) by the chief of artillery, showing the number and description of pieces which are mounted on all the fortifications at Manila – in all eighty-three pieces, of various sizes and power. At the king's command, the Audiencia furnish (July 11) a statement of the aim, scope, and labors of the charitable confraternity, La Misericordia, at Manila. It has one hundred and fifty brethren; they have established and maintained a hospital for women and a ward therein for slaves, besides their principal labors for the succor of the poor and needy of all classes. They provide food and water for the poor prisoners, aid to the inmates of Santa Potenciana,

and homes for orphan boys; and assist many transient persons. They also settle many quarrels and reclaim dissolute persons.

The question of restricting trade between the Spanish colonies is discussed by the Council of the Indias (December 18, 1607); they think it necessary to restrict trade to some extent, but hesitate to take too vigorous measures. At various times (1606-07) the Council of the Indias deliberate on the question whether religious shall be permitted to go to Japan via the Philippines. Certain objections to this are stated (May 30, 1606); that the Japanese suspect the Spaniards of desiring to conquer their country; that the constant flow of Mexican silver to China should be stopped; that the Jesuits, who are already established in Japan, desire to exclude the other orders from that country; and that the Portuguese desire to keep out all Spaniards from both Japan and China. The Council answer all these objections, and recommend that religious be required to go to Japan via Manila, but to embark there in Japanese, not Castilian, vessels. Ten months later (March 31, 1607) the same matter is again brought forward; and, as before, the Council of Portugal object to the entrance of Castilian religious into Japan. The Council of the Indias oppose this view, citing the profitable commerce of the Philippine Islands with Japan, recently begun; the successful work of the religious orders there, and the need of more missionaries in that broad field. They adhere to their former opinion regarding the passage of the religious to Japan, and recommend that the Philippines be allowed at least a moderate trade with that country. Both these reports are discussed in the Council of State (Sep-

tember 7 and December 20, 1607), where complaint is made against the methods of the Jesuit missionaries in Japan; and the king is advised to allow religious from other orders to enter that field, and to prohibit trade from the Philippines to Japan. The king thereupon requests from Rome the revocation of the briefs obliging friars to go to Japan via India, and a new one placing this matter in Felipe's hands.

An itemized statement of the "annual receipts and expenditures of the Philippine government" (August 18, 1608) enumerates these. The receipts comprise the tributes, by encomiendas; the royal tenths of gold, and the ecclesiastical tithes; customs duties; and fines from the courts. All these sources of income amount to over one hundred and twenty thousand pesos. Then are mentioned, in order, the expenses: for salaries of government officials, alcaldes and other local magistrates; wages of government workmen, pilots, sailors, and others; supplies in the ship-yards, etc., and purchases for various purposes; salaries of ecclesiastics, and other expenses for churches and missions. To these are added "extraordinary expenses:" the cost of embassies to neighboring rulers; salaries paid to collectors of tribute, and others; expenses of the soldiers and their officers; and salaries to the wardens of forts. All these expenses amount to over two hundred and fifty-five thousand pesos a year, more than twice as much as the income.

Felipe III writes to Velasco, the viceroy of Nueva España (September 27, 1608), regarding the proposed way-station for Philippine vessels. After summarizing a letter on this subject from Velasco's predecessor, Montesclaros, the king approves the latter's advice to choose, as such way-station, the islands

called Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata (afterward found to be fabulous) instead of Monterey; and orders Velasco to see that a port and settlement be established there, the enterprise to be conducted by Sebastian Vizcaino. Another decree (May 3, 1609) states that, as Velasco has not carried out this order, and advices have been received that the said exploration and settlement should be made from the Philippines, the king decides upon this latter measure, and the enterprise is to be placed in the hands of the governor of the islands. Letters from the king (May 26 and July 29) to Juan de Silva, the new governor of the islands, direct him not to allow the Indians to pay their tributes in personal services, and to inform the king regarding the proposal of the Dominicans to found a college in the islands.

Explorations have been made at different times along the Rio Grande de Cagayán, in the northern part of Luzon. An account of these, with later information, is compiled by Juan Manuel de la Vega (July 3, 1609). He gives a brief summary of the efforts made by Lavezaris, Vera, and Dasmariñas to bring this province under Spanish control. The third of these (July, 1591), under the command of Luis Dasmariñas, is the first effective expedition to the valley of the Rio Grande. He secures the submission of various native villages, and treats the natives with great leniency. A few weeks later, Francisco de Mendoça follows on the route, and finds the Indians hostile, refusing even to sell him food. Not finding Dasmariñas (the main object of his expedition), he follows the Rio Grande to the city of Nueva Segovia, thus ending his journey. In November of the same year, Pedro Sid goes with some soldiers to

Tuy, and now finds the natives friendly. He finds gold among them, which they tell him is brought from the country of Igorrotes. He makes some further explorations, and receives submission from all the chiefs whom he encounters. Three years later, Luis Dasmariñas sends Toribio de Miranda (October, 1594), with soldiers and friars, to explore further and to pacify the province of Tuy. The natives are apparently peaceable, but several instances of treachery occur, and the Spaniards are obliged to be on their guard continually. As in the other accounts, mention is made of each village visited, in succession, and various interesting details are related. At Anit the houses are decorated with the heads of men and of animals; "such was their custom." At Bantal Miranda builds a fort, and requires hostages from some hostile or treacherous chiefs. At Agulan the little children are wearing golden necklaces of good quality, "good enough to be worn in Madrid." At Tuguey and some other villages the natives resist the entrance of the Spaniards, but are terrified at the sound of firearms, and quickly yield submission. Retracing their route, the Spaniards find that the villages which they had left in peace are now revolting; they seize the chief who has most disturbed the people, and send him to Manila. The governor feasts him there, and sends him back to his own village, apparently well pleased with the Spaniards. Miranda searches for gold-mines, but cannot find them; and finally, sick and discouraged, as also are his friars, returns to Manila. Captain Clavijo is sent to search for the mines, but is compelled to retreat, being assaulted by more than a thousand Indians. In 1607 many chiefs from Tuy come to Manila and

offer their submission to the Spaniards; but the Audiencia take no interest in the matter, and pass it by. Later, those chiefs send requests to Manila for protection and religious instruction. The richness and fertility of their country is described; and an interesting account is given of the gold-mines in the adjacent mountains, and the primitive mining operations conducted by the natives. These are Igorrotes, of whose appearance and customs some mention is made. As they are pagans, and lukewarm even in idolatry, it will be easy to make Christians of them. There is great reason to believe that the Igorrote country abounds in gold. To this account are appended several others bearing on this subject. One of these relates the circumstances which induced Dasmariñas to explore Tuy; another is a copy of the warrant and instructions given to him by his father the governor. These are followed by a curious document, apparently written by Vega in behalf of himself and others interested in the conquest of Tuy and the Igorrote gold country, and addressed to some high official in Spain – perhaps Lerma, the favorite of Felipe III. It contains further stipulations, in matters affecting the interests of these parties. A suitable reward shall be given, in the form of small shares in the galleon's cargo, to the officers and men who serve in the expedition to Tuy; and these must be used only in certain specified ways. These promoters ask for authority to appoint the officers and soldiers necessary as garrisons in the conquered country, and to fix the pay of these men, which shall be provided from the royal treasury. If they have important despatches to send to Spain, they wish to send them directly from the Pacific coast of Luzón, rather than

via Manila. If they shall succeed in pacifying those barbarous tribes, they expect permission to allot those natives in encomiendas, at their own pleasure. They also ask for commutation of the royal fifth of gold to one tenth. Still another list of stipulations is given, also over Vega's signature. The promoters of the Tuy scheme demand that answer be made to it by return mail; otherwise, they will be released from all obligations. The cost of this conquest should be borne by the royal treasury. Vega commends himself and his associate – some man of affairs – as heads for this enterprise, and urges that the royal sanction be speedily given to it. The boundaries of the province of Tuy are declared; and certain stipulations are made regarding the encomiendas to be allotted therein, also the authority to be granted to Vega, and the privileges to be accorded to the soldiers.

On July 25, 1609, a petition is sent to the king by Miguel Banal (a descendant of the Moro ruler dispossessed by Legaspi at Manila), praying for redress against the Jesuits for depriving him and other Indians at Quiapo of their lands; he asks the king to investigate this matter anew, and to protect him from further spoliation. The Dominican missionary Aduarte makes a declaration (in a document undated, but of 1608) of the reasons why some of his religious belonging to the mission of 1606 had remained in Nueva España, instead of completing the voyage to the Philippines. Some died on the way, some failed to reach the port of embarcation, and the ship assigned to the missionaries was too small to carry all of them. Aduarte remonstrates against the embarrassments and restrictions with which he and other

missionaries have had to contend; and complains, as before, of the scanty allowance made for their traveling expenses – illustrating this from his own and others' experiences. This is followed by a request from the discalced Augustinians (1609?) for extension of previous permission to send more of their friars to the Philippines.

THE EDITORS

April, 1904.

DOCUMENTS OF 1605

Complaints against the archbishop. Pedro de Acuña, and others; July 1-4.

Relations with the Chinese. Pedro de Acuña, and others; July 4 and 5.

Letters to Felipe III. Pedro de Acuña; July 1-15.

SOURCE: All these documents are obtained from the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla.

TRANSLATIONS: The first letter in the second document, and the first two in the third, are translated by Henry B. Lathrop, of the University of Wisconsin; the remainder, by Robert W. Haight and Emma Helen Blair.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE ARCHBISHOP

Sire:

Ever since I began to have dealings with the archbishop Don Fray Miguel de Benavides, and have recognized his temper, I have perceived the difficulties that he would cause me; accordingly, I have always acted with great moderation and care. But the occasions which he gives for such caution are so many that great patience is necessary to bear them; for he persuades himself that everything, both spiritual and temporal, pertains to him, and that there is not a king, or patronage, or Audiencia that can change his will as to what he will do. It therefore results that he very often has quarrels with the Audiencia, with me, with the orders, and with all those of his church; and nothing occurs in connection with the patronage which he does not desire to adjudicate, so it is on that subject that he has had controversies with me. His scruples are insufferable, and they are continually increasing; accordingly, we dread the lengths to which they may carry him. Notwithstanding that he is a religious who is greatly respected, and one of learning and exemplary life, and has always had this reputation, I believe that he would be better in his cell than in the archbishopric or bishopric; and that it would be much better for his conscience and peace of mind,

and that this commonwealth would gain much thereby. It is noticeable that his order, knowing him as they do, and regarding him as of good character and reputation, as I have said, have never employed him in any way in their government, as they do not find him qualified for it. I beg your Majesty to be pleased to order that he shall not meddle in those affairs which do not concern him, and that he shall be quiet and treat me and the auditors with respect; and that he avoid disputes and quarrels, since from them can result nothing but evil to the service of God and your Majesty, and scandal to the public. Your Majesty may believe that what I write here is stated with the utmost moderation, considering the outrages which he has committed. I therefore doubt not that many complaints of his proceedings will be sent. The Audiencia have grievances, and sometimes have been so provoked that they have been at the point of sharply correcting him; but some of them are afraid of him for private reasons, and dare not do so. In order not to stumble against such obstacles, I take it to be an efficacious remedy, for the future, that your Majesty should not appoint to the archbishopric or bishoprics of these islands friars who have been trained in these islands without first obtaining a report from the Audiencia of their qualifications and experience in government. May our Lord protect the Catholic person of your Majesty, according to the needs of Christendom. Manila, the first of July, 1605.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

[*In the margin*: "Have all the letters which treat of this, and those which concern the archbishop placed together, and have them taken to the Council."]

[*Endorsed*: "Manila, to his Majesty; 1605, Don Pedro de Acuña, the first of July; writes about the archbishop." "July 21, 1606, examined, and decreed within."]

Sire:

In countries so remote as are these Philipinas Islands, and which lie so far from the royal presence of your Majesty, we are bound, not only by our obligation, but in conscience as well, by our feelings in regard to the sights that every day meet our eyes, and by the commands laid upon us by special instruction from your Majesty and your presidents and auditors, always to give information [of affairs here]. We do so, likewise, in order to secure the aid of the relief which faithful vassals ought to look and hope for in their hardships and calamities from their natural king and lord – whose light, like that of the sun, ought to be equally communicated to all; and whose fatherly protection it is just that we should recognize on all occasions which arise, since we cannot appear personally before the feet of your Majesty. Yet doing what we can in this, we present ourselves with due submission, giving information that is reliable, and derived from experience, of the injuries both to the public and to individuals which this commonwealth, and we the religious of the Order of our father St. Augustine, are suffering from the presence of Don Fray Miguel de Venavides, archbishop of this archiepiscopal see – who, we believe, should be occupying a cell in some convent of his order in exemplary and peaceful life, as he did before he rose to the position of bishop and to the dignity which today he holds. In that position,[1] either because he wishes

to assume more authority in the [ecclesiastical] government than is his due, or on account of some grave scruples which, continually increasing, so harass and disquiet him that were not the valor and prudence of Don Pedro de Acuña, governor of these islands, so great, and the royal Audiencia which your Majesty has here composed of councillors so wise, Christian, and moderate, fear would often have arisen (and with good cause) of various scandals for which the said prelate has given occasion. For with his revelations and prophecies, of which your Majesty has been informed, he publicly stated that the Chinese were about to rebel, from which it resulted that poor soldiers, and other persons who belong to peoples that resort here, were eager for such an opportunity; and it is believed that the cowardly Chinese were thus led to mutiny and rebellion, putting this whole land in danger. All this arose from the fears of the archbishop, which were not communicated to the person who could, without exciting comment, have taken precautions and prevented the trouble – namely, the governor, with whom he has usually had collisions. These were principally in matters concerning the royal patronage, which loses footing out here; [such conduct is therefore] the less to be tolerated. Your Majesty will have heard long ago of some ill result, for the governor has tried to manage the archbishop with due gentleness, treating him with respect, giving him a wide range in affairs, and temporizing with him in order to avoid contention. During his sicknesses, which are frequent, the governor has entertained him as a guest in his own house, keeping him

[1] The sense is here somewhat incomplete; there may be some omission in the text.

there a long time. This has been of so little use that he takes every opportunity to disturb, and sometimes without opportunity disturbs, the general peace – at which all of us, not only ecclesiastics but laymen, are so distressed that there is no way of expressing it to your Majesty. We believe that if it were possible for you in España to see how we suffer here, your Majesty would immediately remedy it; for we are led to think that you do not realize the trouble which this matter is causing, or else that it is one which is not to be discussed as it should be, on account of the archbishop's many scruples. As a result, the condition of affairs is intolerable, which is a most unfortunate thing and one of great importance. Accordingly, as he is a prelate and we are religious, we are writing to your Majesty's Grandeur; and we make these statements with great circumspection, that it may not seem as if passion were carrying us away.

Coming, then, to what concerns us, not even the least important incident has occurred in which he has not shown himself opposed to an order such as ours, causing us infinite annoyance – as if it were not we who discovered these regions for your Majesty, and founded with infinite toil this new church, and by whose industry your Majesty has innumerable vassals. Every day, too, we are expecting to open up a greater conversion [of the heathen]; and we continue what was begun by those first fathers who trained us here. We desire not only that the number of the faithful be multiplied, but that the royal crown of your Majesty be increased. To this end, there has been no expedition in which we did not send religious for the consolation and encouragement of the troops. And on the so sudden and dangerous oc-

currence of the rising of the Chinese, we doubt not that the governor has given your Majesty an account of our proceedings; for in public and aloud he thanked us in your Majesty's name for our humble services, though our desire was great for the service of our king and lord. Not a fortification has been made upon land, nor a ship or galley built, where we have not rendered service; and in ministries to the Indians and Spaniards, we believe that no religious order has surpassed us. In spite of all this, the opposition which the said archbishop displays toward us in everything is well known. Thus we find ourselves without protection and in a very wretched state, whence we hope to extricate ourselves with the aid and powerful protection of your Majesty, who will consider himself pleased with these his household, and will command that we be treated in all matters as is right. If it were not for the president and royal Audiencia, who restrain these acts of violence, this poor commonwealth would be separated by five thousand leguas from its real deliverance and father, who is your Majesty – whom may our Lord prosper, and increase his realm, according to the desire of us his faithful vassals. Dated in this your city of Manila; [undated].

FRAY LORENZO DE LEON,
provincial of the Augustinians.
FRAY JHOAN BAPTISTA DE MONTOYA
FRAY ESTEVAN CARRILLO, definitor.
FRAY PEDRO DE AGUIRRE, definitor.
FRAY ROQUE DE VARRIO, new definitor.

[*Endorsed*: "No. 6. Manila; to his Majesty. No date; the religious of the Order of St. Augustine."]

Sire:

Considering its importance to the service of your Majesty, it has seemed best to this Audiencia to give an account of the manner in which the archbishop of these islands proceeds; for he is harsh of temper and resents the acts of the Audiencia which declare that he has committed fuerza.[2] He has often said, for this reason, that they treat him very ill, and put him in such a position that he must retire to his cell and give up his office altogether; for they do not esteem him nor allow him to administer justice. The Audiencia having declared him guilty of fuerza in having imposed excommunication on those who without his permission entered the house of retirement of Santa Potenciana – which was established by your Majesty's order and at the expense of your royal exchequer, that orphan girls and poor maidens might be sheltered there, and instructed and taught, and remain there until they should be married – he would not obey the act of the Audiencia, thus imposing on them the responsibility of employing the correction and severe measures which your Majesty commands by his royal laws; but if these were executed in a land so new as this it would cause a scandal, which would result in much harm that could not be remedied. To avoid this, it was agreed to send the record of their proceedings and to make a report to your Majesty, so that you might command what should be most expedient for your royal service.

[*In the margin*: "Let this clause, with the proceedings referred to, be taken to the official reporter;

[2] *Fuerza*: injury committed by an ecclesiastical judge; see VOL. V, p. 292.

provision and decree have been made elsewhere."]

He treats the Audiencia with less respect than he ought to, and desires to be preferred in matters of authority; for he will have it that those who preach, when the Audiencia and archbishop are present, should bow first to him and not to the Audiencia. When the holy water is given on Sundays, he has ordered it to be taken to the choir, or wherever he may be; and, after he has received it, he who is giving it shall go back and give it to the Audiencia. As this seemed to be derogatory to the authority which the Audiencia represents, a proposal was made to him that two vessels of holy water should be carried – one to the choir for him, and the other to be left for the Audiencia; but he would not agree to this. He has ordered that the pax which is given to the Audiencia and the archbishop should be given to him by the deacon, and to the Audiencia by the subdeacon; and he says that they should be thankful that he has consented to give them the pax, for there is no reason why it should be given to them.

In public he places his seat before those of the Audiencia; and, as they felt that consent to this ought not to be given, a message was sent to him by the court clerk on St. Potenciana's day – since, as she is patron saint of this city, the Audiencia and cabildo go to celebrate mass in her church on that feast-day – to notify him that it was not proper to put his seat in front of the Audiencia. He answered that he must place it there, as his Holiness and your Majesty ordered and permitted it. When this determination of his was known, it was agreed that the Audiencia would not go [to mass] on that feast-day, in order to avoid another encounter of this sort; and to maintain a firm

attitude in regard to what your Majesty commands to be done in his service.

He is quite at variance with the ecclesiastical cabildo, and the prebendaries in particular make many complaints of him; and it would be well worth your consideration that this should be checked. Both they and others demand this from your Majesty, and you will be pleased to grant such relief as is most expedient. May our Lord protect your Catholic person for many years. Manila, July 4, 1605.

[*In the margin*: "Have the decree for Santo Domingo and Nuebo Rreyno[8] brought, so that it may be examined and the proper decree issued."]

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA
The licentiate TELLEZ ALMACAN
The licentiate MANUEL DE MADRID Y LUNA

[*Endorsed*: "Manila; to his Majesty, 1605. 58. Governor and Audiencia." "January 15, 1607, examined, and decreed within."]

[8] Apparently a reference to the organization of "el Nuevo Reino ["the new kingdom"] de Granada," afterward known as Nueva (or New) Granada; a name applied in the nineteenth century to the country now known as United States of Colombia. This region was conquered by Gonzalo Jiminez Quesada in 1537, its capital (established August 6, 1538) being Santa Fé de Bogotá.

RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE

RESTITUTION OF CHINESE PROPERTY

Official statement of the memorials presented in the royal Audiencia of Manila on the part of the most reverend archbishop of the Filipinas, concerning the demands of the king of China.

Most potent lord: The archbishop of these Filipinas declares that, as such archbishop, he is under obligation to look after the condition of these islands and of the Christian religion in them; and, as a member of the Council of his Majesty, to protect the interests of his royal crown, and of this his dominion – all of which, according to the counsels of prudence, is at the present moment in great danger. This danger is one of the greatest that could be, for the powerful king of China has threatened us with an enormous fleet of ships, saying that there will be a thousand of them if we do not grant what he demands in regard to two things. One of these is clearly just; for it concerns a great quantity of property which was brought into this city by the Chinese merchants last year, six hundred and three, when the Sangleys rebelled against this city. Your governor commanded that the said property, as belonging to enemies (as those who brought it here were), should be kept, and taken into custody, and should be given back to them. A

great part of this property was afterward sold among the Spaniards and more than thirty thousand pesos of the proceeds of the said goods came into the possession of Diego de Marquina, general depositary of this city, by whom it was all (or nearly all) turned over to your royal treasury. The rest of the Chinese property came into the possession of Captain Sebastian de Aguilar, and any other person who may have received into his keeping and custody other goods belonging to the said property. The other thing which the said king of China demands is, that certain Chinese (of whom there are not many) who remained alive after the war and were at that time taken prisoners, and are in the galleys, should be given their liberty that they may go back to their own country. This is a matter for your Highness to examine carefully, to ascertain whether this be a just demand, and whether it can be justly exacted. Even if it were clearly and evidently just that the said Chinese should remain as convicts in the said galleys, this demand requires much consideration, on account of the condition of the faith and of the realm, whether this commonwealth must be forced to break with so powerful an enemy and enemies as he would be. He brings forward his arguments with much reason and consideration; by one of his demands – which of itself is not very important, although more so when, arriving at the question of justice – he brings up another doubt as to whether it is just for the said Chinese to be condemned to the galleys. This is questionable, in the first place, because they are not vassals of his Majesty, and therefore were not traitors; and likewise whether they should, on account of the hostilities which the Chinese were generally committing, im-

mediately be condemned, without recourse, to the galleys, without being heard individually or their exceptions being received – especially as no one doubts that the said uprising and rebellion was not voluntary on the part of all the Chinese, but was contrary to the will of many; and it may be that some, and even a considerable number, of those who are on the galleys were not captured in war, but while hidden in the country districts and on the mountains. To say that the said Chinese are necessary to work the galleys which your governor must take on a certain expedition, which it is said he must make, does not affect the proposition; for the said expedition is not made by the will of his Majesty, but in his very exact instructions he neither requires nor permits the said expedition to Huaca [*sic; sc.* Maluco] with the said Chinese. Moreover, they are so cunning and shrewd that perhaps they will again do what they did to Gomez Perez, and even worse; and they may be the cause not only of the disastrous ending of the said expedition, but even of our complete ruin. There can be no doubt from the relation sent, as to the attitude of the king of China; for the three greatest magistrates whom he has in the province and dominion of Oquen (to which belongs the province of Chiencho) – that is, the viceroy, the inspector-general and the eunuch – write this, each one of them, in two letters, one of which is for the said archbishop and the other for the said governor of these islands.

In view of these considerations, I entreat and beseech your Highness to command that the said property [of the merchants] be immediately sent to the said kingdom of China, either by suitable messengers, or by the Chinese captains who are at present about

to go there. The most certain and the first which should be sent would be that which comes into the royal treasury of his Majesty from the proceeds of the said goods of the said Chinese, even if it be necessary to ask for this a loan from the citizens of this country, or to economize, or to go without other things. As for giving their liberty to the said Chinese who are in the galleys I beseech your Highness to order that this be decided and examined into in great detail, especially as concerns justice; it should also be examined to ascertain the rights of the state. For this purpose, both in this affair and in other things which are presented before his Majesty's Council, some one who has great experience in Chinese affairs should be associated with them, and say what he thinks. The archbishop demands justice, and an attestation of this petition, and of what may be decreed in this matter, and of the entire proceedings; and that the decision may be made at once, so that these Chinese ships may convey the appropriate answer. As for our reputation, nothing will be lost by sending back the said Chinese, especially those who are not found to be very guilty; for no one loses reputation by doing justice, and the king of China and his ministers know very well that the decision of justice, and the separation of the innocent from the guilty, in so grave a case has demanded all the time which has elapsed up to the present. Finally his Majesty the king, our sovereign, [must be considered]; what he requires is that this colony, as the chief of all [his possessions here], where he has established so much good, should not be placed in danger by other matters which might be of uncertain success – especially for this consideration, which is of so little importance. Rather it is fitting

to set free these Chinese, as far as possible, as experience has always proved to us, with so much cost of our blood, and so great danger of the ruin of this land.

FRAY MIGUEL, archbishop of Manila.

At Manila, on the tenth of June, 1605, the lords president and auditors of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería of the Filipinas Islands, being in session, this petition was read, and examined by the said lords. They commanded this petition to be joined with the ones presented by the Chinese in this matter, and brought to the session on Monday.

Before me:

PEDRO NUÑEZ DE HERRERA, notary royal.

Most potent lord: The archbishop of the Filipinas declares that he has presented a petition, discussing therein what is demanded on the part of the king of China in a letter from certain of his ministers, as is explained more at length in his said petition to which he refers you. He now says that, of the two things which are demanded, although the money is a matter of importance to the Chinese, yet what most grieves them is the men who, as they see, are here in the galleys, with such hardships and in a climate so hot and oppressive as this is – especially as they have parents, children, wives, and relatives in that country who are continually beseeching the Chinese magistrates and people. And he seeks the liberty of those who are here in our power, captive and condemned, and begs and entreats from your Highness what he has sought in the other petition. And more particularly he asks in this other if your Highness will order that especial

attention be given to this; that even if it be true that the king of China will not make war upon us, as he threatens, yet I am warned by those Chinese who are our best friends that they know, from their own histories, that it is quite probable that the king of China will at least cut off the trade with these countries, under the heaviest penalties, which would be the total ruin of this commonwealth. The king of China did this to the Japanese, who formerly had trade and commerce with the Chinese between the two countries, the Chinese going to Japon and the Japanese going to China. The king of China, seeing that the Japanese did not maintain their trade with the care and honesty that they should, did not make war upon them, but took away their trade and commerce under a singularly vigorous penalty – which is, that if any Chinaman trades with the Japanese not only he but his father, mother, and relatives shall be put to death. This has remained the law up to the present, inviolably; and no Chinaman has transgressed it, unless it be some villainous and desperate man. This is one of the most important considerations to be judged in the present case. He begs and entreats your Highness to command that this be considered, and commands me to give an attestation of this petition and procedure.

FRAY MIGUEL, archbishop of Manila.

In the city of Manila, on the thirteenth day of June of the year 1605, the lords president and auditors of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería of these Filipinas Islands being in session, this petition was read; and, having considered it, they decreed that the depositaries should be commanded to render an account as soon as possible of the property which they

have held on deposit, so that it may be surrendered; and that, when the ships shall have arrived from Castilla, what is owing shall be paid into the royal treasury. As concerns the Chinese who are in the galleys, the matter is being examined, so that suitable measures may be taken in the matter, and that a decision shall be reached and a decree issued before the Chinese leave. The attestations which he asks will be given to the archbishop, in the manner that he desires.

Before me:

PEDRO HURTADO DESQUIVEL

In fulfilment of which I, Pedro Hurtado Desquivel, notary of court for the king our lord in his royal Audiencia and Chancillería of these Filipinas Islands, have given this copy of the said petition and command, which is certified to be a true copy, corrected and compared with the originals which remain in my possession. Witnesses to the examination, copying, correction, and comparison: Pedro Nuñez de Herrera, Geronimo de Peralta. Manila, the seventh of July, of the year one thousand six hundred and five. In witness thereof, I have set my seal in attestation of truth.

PEDRO HURTADO DESQUIVEL, court notary.

LETTER FROM ACUNA TO THE VICEROY OF UCHEO

Don Pedro de Acuña, etc. By the hands of Captain Juan San I received the letter of the lord viceroy in which he informs me that news has been carried to China that the Sangleys who came to trade with this realm of Luzon have been put to death by the Spaniards. He states that after having investigated the

cause of their death, and having asked the king to execute justice upon the author of so great a wrong, he learned that on account of the lies uttered by Tioguen we had suspected that the Sangleys were going to make war against us. On this account, as he was informed, we had put to death more than thirty thousand Chinese. The king had punished Tiogueng by commanding his head to be cut off and hung up in a cage, and had ordered Anglión, his companion, to be executed. He declared that the Chinese who had been slain in Luzon were not in fault. I reply to this that that which happened in this case is as stated in the accompanying letter – which I sent as soon as the event occurred, with a ship and a proper messenger, by way of Macan to the Portuguese who live there, who are vassals of our king. It was my intention that they should give it to the viceroy; and I sent similar letters to the eunuch and to the mandarins who were there. But the Portuguese were not well disposed to us, solely on account of their belief that the Chinese were in close friendship with us because of the trade and the large amount of commerce which we had with them; and that this is the cause why they are not able to buy merchandise at very low prices, as they would certainly do if the trade from here were to come to an end. Hence they brought it about that these letters were not delivered; and thus the truth of this matter could not be known in China, nor the fact that the Sangleys were greatly to blame for the losses which they incurred. If these things had been known the Chinese, well disposed as they are to the execution of justice according to law, and desirous that crimes should be punished, would certainly have regarded the fault of those people as

greater than the punishment which was inflicted on them.

The penalty imposed on the Sangleys who piloted the two Dutch ships that were on the coast of Chincheo was very just. These Dutch are not friends of the Castilians, but bitter enemies; for, although they are vassals of the king of the Hespañas, my sovereign, they and their country have revolted, and they have become pirates like Liamon in China. They have no employment, except to plunder as much as they can. Hence they did not come to Luzón; and, if they should come, I would try to capture and punish them.

As for the statement that the letter is sent to let me know the greatness of the king of China and of his realms, and that they are so great that he governs all upon which the moon and the sun shed their light; and the other statement that he desires me to be acquainted with the great wisdom with which that kingdom is governed, vast as it is, and that no one should dare offend it, and referring to the war in Corea – to this I answer that the Spaniards have measured by palmos, and that very exactly, all the countries belonging to all the kings and lordships in the world. Since the Chinese have no commerce with foreign nations, it seems to them that there is no other country but their own, and that there is no higher greatness than theirs; but if he knew the power of some of the kings with whom my sovereign, the king of the Hespañas, carries on continual war, the whole of China would seem to him very small. The king of China would do well to notice that from here to the court of Hespaña the distance is five thousand leguas; and that on the voyage thither are two kingdoms, Nueva Hespaña and Peru, whose territory is so great

that it is almost equal to that of China, without mentioning very large islands in those seas. At the same time I know that the kingdom of China is governed with much wisdom, and all the people here know, and I know, of the war in Corea.

The Sangleys who were killed here when they revolted were not thirty thousand, or even half as many.

As for the statement that after the death of the Sangleys was known in China, many mandarins joined in a concerted petition to the king that they might be allowed to avenge those deaths – accusing the Spaniards of being cruel and ungrateful, and charging us that after the Chinese had aided us to erect our walls and other buildings, and in our gardens (all to our profit), we ought not to have done this – to this I reply that the Spaniards are not cruel of heart, and never make war upon anyone without just reasons. We regard ourselves as a just people and as having a standing in the world; and we would be greatly grieved if it could be said of us with truth that we have done wrongs or injuries to anyone – especially to our friends, and to those who are sincerely friends to us. Thus in the case of the Sangleys who were here, we treated them as brothers and sons; and, without any precaution, we permitted them to enter our houses at all seasons and at all hours, as if they had been Spaniards. So true was this that, if God had not delivered us by revealing their treachery, they might for that very cause have been able to succeed in it.

I have noted the answer given by the king of China to letters written by the viceroy and others with regard to this matter. I think that he ought to be fair in all matters, and that he should not be in-

fluenced to make war on Luzón without first knowing whether we are in fault or not; for if he should do otherwise we could not say, as we have said, that China is prudently governed.

The viceroy also writes to me that, since the Spaniards are a sensible and prudent people, we must therefore be grieved for having slain so many people, and repent thereof. He also informs me that if we deal justly with the Chinese, return the Sangleys who have survived the war, and pay the money due on the goods taken from the Sangleys, he will maintain amity with us and will send merchant vessels every year. If not, the king will not permit ships to come, but will command a thousand war-vessels to be built, manned with soldiers – both the relatives of those who are dead, and men from the other nations and kingdoms who pay tribute to China; and, without mercy on anyone, they will make war upon us, and afterward the kingdom of Luzón will be given to that people which pays tribute.

To this I answer that, although in truth we are grieved for the loss which the Chinese suffered, we have nothing to repent of therein; since what we did was to put to death those who would have done the same to us (although we had given them no reason for it), and who would have done so if we had not anticipated them. When we were living in great peace they rose in revolt against us, simply because they were wicked; left their Parián for a fort which they had built without my knowing anything of it, and sallied out thence against the farms to kill Spaniards and Indians. This they succeeded in doing by catching them unawares, and they inflicted very great cruelties even upon the Spanish women and upon

their slaves, both male and female. Since this is true, as the very Chinese who have survived will declare, let the viceroy judge what could have been done, and what he would have done if such a thing had happened in China.

The crime is such that all of them justly deserve to die for it; but, moved with pity, I permitted some few to serve in the galleys of the king, which is a punishment inflicted by us upon criminals to avoid putting them to death. After they had been placed in the galleys, I set free some of them who, as it afterward appeared, had not been so much in fault; and others furnished some slaves, who received the same treatment. It is well known that kingdoms and provinces where crimes are not punished cannot maintain themselves; and if this crime were not punished, and the Chinese were to see that they received their liberty even when they had committed so great a crime, another day they would do the same thing. Hence I have not yet set at liberty those Sangleys who are condemned to the galleys, that they may go to China and even convey to the viceroy knowledge of what has happened. I am certain that when he knows the facts he will regard their punishment as very slight in view of their crimes; but, if he should deem otherwise, let him inform me of his will.

The property which was in existence during the past year, for whom owners or consignees appeared, was surrendered to them; there was a great quantity of it, and now they take [*blank space in MS.*]. This is the amount which I have been able to send from the royal treasury, where some of the property of the Sangleys was deposited for which an owner was not

to be found; next year I will endeavor to send the rest. During the past year one ship arrived; and the other, which was on its way to Castilla, was lost with a very great quantity of Chinese stuffs and other goods. For this reason it has been impossible to discharge this obligation in full at the present time. Let the viceroy notice that this is and will be done because it is just, and not because he has written that unless the people and the goods are sent he will make war on Luzón; for I am sure that the king of China and his ministers, being prudent, politic, and discreet persons, will not wage war for causes so light. Still, if they desire to do so, the Castilians are well able to defend their lands from all who may attempt to take them away; and they even know how to attack their enemies and to seek them out in their own dwelling-places, when their opponents suppose that they have them conquered.

As regards the licenses for ships coming from China to trade with Luzón, it is not so dangerous to grant such permissions that the king [of China] or other persons there will consent to lose the great advantage which they possess in the large quantity of silver which is carried hence every year; for this remains in China, without a single real leaving there, while the goods which they give us in exchange are consumed and used up in a very short time. Hence we may say that in this trade the Chinese have as great an interest as the Castilians have, or even more.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTED

Sire:

By commission from the royal Audiencia, I have

this year attended to the investigation of the Chinese ships, and the Sangleys who have come to this city. I myself went to examine them, in order to avert the injuries which might be inflicted on them. Eighteen ships having arrived, with merchandise and five thousand five hundred Chinese on board, besides five hundred more who remained in this city from last year, I ordered the cabildo and regimiento of the city, if Chinese were necessary for the public service, to enter petition therefor within four days, giving a memorandum of the number necessary and the duties that they were to perform. As they did not do as I had ordered, for a number of days, and as the ships wished to return to China, and I to despatch in them all the infidel Chinese who were here, I reported the case to the royal Audiencia here. Considering what great lack of service there is in this city, and how necessary workmen are for its restoration, as it has been ravaged by two fires – more than a hundred of the houses formerly standing having been destroyed during this year of six hundred and five, and more by the other fire that occurred in the year six hundred and three – they determined to have one thousand five hundred infidel Chinese stay here for the rebuilding of the burned part, and the service of the city. They commanded me by an act to give permission to the said number of infidel Chinese, choosing them from the crafts which should appear to me most necessary. This I did with exactness and fairness, being personally present, and not entrusting this task to any other person. In this way, the said number will not be in any way exceeded; it has appeared necessary and sufficient, and it will be important for the service of God and of your Majesty

that this number be not exceeded in years to come. May God protect the Catholic person of your Majesty. Manila, July 5, 1605.

The licentiate MANUEL DE MADRID Y LUNA

[*Endorsed*: "To his Majesty; Manila, 1605. The licentiate Manuel de Madrid y Luna. July 5." "That, by commission of the Audiencia, the inspection of the ships of the Chinese Sangleys has been attended to; and by order of the said Audiencia, considering the great necessity of labor and repairs, permission was given for a thousand and five hundred of them to remain in that city, as they are very necessary. And in compliance with this they will be allowed to stay for this purpose, without the said number being exceeded. March 22, 1607. This measure is in the letters of the governor."]

LETTERS FROM PEDRO DE ACUNA TO FELIPE III

Sire:

On the twenty-fifth of February of the current year, 1605, there arrived in the port of Cabite a ship from Nueva Hespaña, and in it Brother Gaspar Gomez of the Society of Jesus, with news of the decision which had been reached regarding the matter of Maluco; the order for this military service also came. There were, besides, in the said vessel about two hundred infantry, in two companies, of those who are to go on the expedition. Their arrival was very seasonable and caused much rejoicing in these islands, because it occurred at a time when we had received news by way of Macan that an army was being prepared in China to come here.[4]

The diligence shown by the viceroy of Nueva Hespaña in despatching these advices, and informing me of the condition of the embarcations there, was of great value in assisting me to prepare some necessary supplies; for nearly everything has to be obtained from different provinces, while some supplies must be imported from distant kingdoms, as China and Japon. Hence time is requisite for this purpose – and,

[4] In the original there is a brief summary at the head of each paragraph, for the convenience of the council in considering the document.

indeed, even more than we have; but all will be made ready although with some difficulty.

The master-of-camp, Juan de Esquivel, arrived at the opening of the strait of Capul June 11, and came to Cabite June 17, after having disembarked the forces in the port of Ybalon – where he received my order to do this, and found ships in which to send them on to the island of Panay, where provisions for them are provided. The number of troops who have come with the master-of-camp are six hundred and fifty men, including thirty who came afterwards in a small vessel which had been left behind. These men had gone from Acapulco to Tehuantepeque for four pieces of artillery which were cast in Nueba Hespaña for this expedition.

The forces for which I asked from Nueva Hespaña for this undertaking were one thousand five hundred men, including sailors and soldiers. As for the five hundred who have served in old companies and are not altogether new recruits, I was told by the master-of-camp, that those from his regiment are for the most part good soldiers. What I can assert is, that the troops in the two companies who arrived first, and the troops of the master-of-camp who are here, have satisfied me very well. From this garrison and from the paid soldiers as large a force will be formed as can be spared, in order to leave matters here with a safe guard; since on account of the importance of this enterprise I must, if God gives me health, go on this expedition in person. I intend to take with me some Panpango Indians and some Indians from this region, among whom there are many good arquebusiers and musketeers. In company with Spaniards, they prove to be very good soldiers.

I asked for five hundred quintals of powder; and your Majesty informed me that the viceroy would send them. Although he did not send the whole amount, two hundred and thirty-five quintals of powder and a hundred quintals of saltpetre arrived. We shall be obliged to use what there is in the royal magazines here, that we may not lack so necessary a thing; yet the whole is but little.

The said viceroy wrote me that the troops came paid for a year, and that from the wages of the troops he had retained sixty-five pesos in the case of each soldier. The total amount is forty thousand pesos, which sum was sent under registry on the account and at the risk of the said forces. This is a piece of excellent foresight; for if the total amount of wages had been paid, as is customary, they would have gambled and spent the whole in two days, and would be in need the whole year, from which great evils would follow. For the expedition the viceroy sent sixty thousand pesos, without considering that the treasury here is in such a state that, even if the whole amount should be paid into it on account of these islands, there would not be enough to pay unavoidable debts and the loans which have been taken throughout a whole year from private persons, some of which were granted on my credit. I was expecting some good quantity of money on a separate account; and I also hoped for the ordinary soldiers who are sent every year to supply the places of those who are drowned and those who die of disease and in battle. We are continually waging war in one province or another, and sometimes at home. But I have been disappointed in all this, and must expend my efforts to get on as best I can, using some methods

to prevent the service of your Majesty from failure.

As soon as I was informed that your Majesty would be pleased to command this expedition to be undertaken, I began on the very day when I arrived here to busy myself with the preparation of the materials and other things necessary to build the galleys and also to keep them in proper condition. I regard them as the most effective means of defense for this kingdom, on account of the causes which I have previously written to your Majesty. Accordingly, I have five equipped. The flagship has twenty-two benches, the second in command [*patrona*] and another have nineteen each, and two others seventeen each. One of these two which have seventeen will be launched within a fortnight, and has the necessary supply of rowers. These vessels are not made larger, being thus more suitable for these regions, because there are many shoals here; and when they are of this size they are sufficient for the contests which they have to carry on with the oared vessels employed by the enemy. Another reason is the advantage of keeping down the number of rowers and reducing the expenses, as I have written your Majesty. These galleys have turned out very well, because I found here a good foreman; and although he died a few days ago, I have had the good fortune to find a second, a Genovese, a good workman. He is well known in Cartagena, where he built a galley. I have met with much opposition from the archbishop and from the licentiate Don Antonio de Rivera Maldonado, auditor of this royal Audiencia. If I had had to follow the opinion of either of them so that they could restrain my hand, the first stick of wood would still have to be worked. God knows what I have had to

undergo in this, and what I am still undergoing; and He knows the evil results which follow from such a state of things in a region so distant from your Majesty, when those persons undertake to correct matters of war, and to meddle with them, who do not understand them and have nothing to do with them.

I expect to take with me on the expedition four of these galleys, and a vessel which has arrived here just now from Acapulco, which was made here and has capacity to carry a large amount of troops and provisions; it is of seven hundred toneladas. This vessel I will have fitted and put in good order. I expect also to take another of moderate size, of two hundred and fifty toneladas, which I have had built in the province of Camarines. I shall have three Moro ships from Perú. These will be very light, the largest being of a hundred and fifty toneladas, and the other two of a hundred and thirty each, more or less. Thus in all there will be five, in addition to seven brigantines and five lorchas, vessels built after the fashion of China and Japon. These are very good with both oar and sail, and have greater capacity and accommodation for carrying provisions than any other kind of vessels with which oars are used.

I expect that this expedition will include the foregoing vessels and galleys on account of your Majesty; and that in addition there will go seven or eight other ships belonging to private encomenderos and other persons. These will be ships of moderate size, with a high freeboard, in which their owners will take a quantity of biscuit, rice, wine, meat, and other supplies; these will be of great assistance, since a number of volunteers will go. This provision made by private persons is of considerable usefulness, and on that

account I have had it made. To induce them to go it is absolutely necessary to encourage them to it, and to urge upon them the service which they will render to your Majesty. This I have had to undertake, since in view of the losses and misfortunes which they have suffered, they are poor and discouraged. They finally volunteered to go with a good will, and their going will be an assistance of no little consequence; as a result of it, I am certain that we shall have provisions for more than a year.

I have commanded the whole of this body of vessels to assemble in the island of Panay, at the town and port of Oton, where the infantry is on shore. When they have assembled there they will proceed, and I will leave this city after the day of St. Francis, taking advantage of the north winds. I shall attend to whatever shall be necessary there, and get it all in order by the end of January or the beginning of February. That is the season best suited for the voyage to Maluco. It will then be most likely that we shall have the benefit of the monsoon which is likely to blow with gentle and favorable brisas. In this way I shall not be forced off my course by vessels with a high freeboard; this accident happens very often, because of the great number of currents among these islands. I have no doubt that we shall encounter some vessels from Olanda and Gelanda, and more this year than others, since this is the year of the clove monsoon more than the two previous years; for in the third year the clove-trees bear much more heavily. The fruit is like olives, and the trees resemble olive-trees in their leaves and in their size, as I am told.[5] I had

[5] The botanical name of the clove is *Caryophyllus aromaticus*. See Crawfurd's excellent account, both descriptive and historical,

further information from Enrique de Castro, a Fleming, a native of Amberes [*i.e.*, Anvers?], a man of good reputation, able to speak several languages, and very sensible; he told me that he came as a soldier in one of the companies brought by the despatch-boat which reached here February 25. He said that he had left Olanda fifteen months before, from the city of Nostradama [*i.e.*, Amsterdam]; and that there, and in another city in the same country of Olanda, they were preparing twelve or thirteen large vessels with the purpose of coming to the Yndias. He was told that they were to seize Ambueno and the Maluca Islands, and that they were carrying a large number of men, besides lime and cut stone in ballast, to make a fortress. I am much afraid that this is true, because of what I have previously written to your Majesty with reference to the advices which I have received from the king of Tidore. He states that the king of Terrenate had sent to invite the Dutch, offering to permit them to build a fort and a factory in his country, in order to make them willing to assist him against the said king of Tidore, against the Portuguese, and against us. Accordingly the forts there and in Am-

of this valued product, in his *Dict. of Indian Islands,* pp. 101-105. Cf. the account by Duarte Barbosa, in *East Africa and Malabar* (Hakluyt Soc. publications No. 35, London, 1866), pp. 201, 219, 227; he says, among other things: "And the trees from which they do not gather it for three years after that become wild, so that their cloves are worth nothing." Crawfurd says: "It is only in its native localities, the five small islets [Moluccas] on the western coast of the large island of Gilolo, that it is easily grown, and attains the highest perfection. There, it bears in its seventh or eighth year, and lives to the age of 130 or 150." He also states that the Dutch, in their attempt to secure the monopoly of the clove trade, exterminated the clove trees from the Moluccas, and endeavored to limit their growth to the five Amboyna islands, in which they had introduced the clove.

bueno are in danger. The one at Tidore is a matter for jest; and the commandants, as well as the commanders of galleons, think of nothing but merchandise and of making their fortunes. The same thing is true throughout the whole of Yndia. If this news should prove true, there would be much difficulty in this enterprise. May God turn all things well for His cause.

The forces of the regiment of the master-of-camp, Esquibel, have received their pay for a year in advance, as the viceroy informs me by his letter. At the present time more than half the year has passed, and by the time they leave Oton the whole year will have been completed. Inasmuch as in the order for this expedition which your Majesty commanded to be given, I noticed that the Marques de Montes Claros was directed, in case the forces should be retained in the service of your Majesty for a longer period than the said year, to send me money to pay them in case I advised him thereof, it seemed well to me to advise him of this matter immediately, and to tell him that during the coming year he should send me what is needed for a thousand men in addition to the sea force. It is plain that this will be necessary, for by the time that the fleet leaves these islands the [soldiers'] year will be at an end. I therefore beseech your Majesty to be pleased to give him imperative commands to fulfil this requirement; since soldiers in a country of enemies, and so far from their own country, serve badly if they are in need. Thus many important opportunities might be lost, and even considerable disadvantages might be experienced without there being any possibility of remedying them. If the enterprise turns out prosperously – as

by the grace of God I hope it will – I expect that it will provide the means for maintaining the conquest, for paying all the expenses which have been and shall be incurred, and for affording a large quantity of cash surplus in addition to the expenses, besides repairing the losses incident to this affair. In particular, I think that to drive the enemy from the Maluca Islands and from the islands of Banda will be of great advantage for our affairs in Flandes, since the rebels of Olanda and Gelanda harvest the product of these islands and draw from them great wealth, by means of which they carry on war and become rich. I, therefore, again beseech you to be pleased to give commands that this expedition may be adequately provided with supplies. I also beg that what is necessary for the expenses of the fleet and for other requisite objects may likewise be sent. I further request that for the regular expenses of the government a liberal supply may be placed in the treasury of the islands on a separate account, since the treasury is so needy and so heavily burdened with obligations.

Weapons and gunpowder are always opportune, and generally the lack of these causes a great deal of trouble. I accordingly beg your Majesty to be pleased to command that as large an amount thereof as possible may be sent, and that the forces at Manila may also be supplied. I suggest that although what is now of most importance, and what must primarily be considered, is merely the regaining of the fort and island of Terrenate, still the care and attention which will be necessary to protect and sustain the conquest, at least for the first few years, will not be small. During that time it will be necessary for us to keep it

under control with arms in our hands. We shall have contests every day with the natives of the country, and likewise with the Dutch, who will not at once be willing to abandon it without testing the defense which it can offer, for the reasons which they publish there and in the other Maluca Islands, and in the islands of Banda. With regard to this matter I have written to your Majesty. We must be on the watch everywhere, making Terrenate our center.

By the first section of the orders which your Majesty was pleased to command to have sent to me for this expedition, it appears that the captains who come on the expedition receive sixty ducados a month and the privates eight, whether they were recruited in Hespaña or in Nueva Hespaña. I was commanded that if this rate of payment for the soldiers might be moderated in view of what is paid the soldiers here who are of the same rank, I should reduce it, but with fairness. I have to state that the pay of a private in this garrison is six pesos a month. This is little, in view of the fact that the country is incomparably more expensive than when their rate of pay was fixed, as I have previously written your Majesty. The eight ducados which the soldiers of the expedition receive is high pay; and accordingly, in my judgment, it would be well to pay the infantry in both forces at the rate of eight pesos (of eight reals) a month, in addition to the thirty ducados of extra pay which are allowed every company in Hespaña and other regions. I should advise that the captains of both forces should be paid at the rate of fifty pesos, the ensigns at twenty pesos, and the sergeants at the rate of ten, as they are now paid here. The captains here receive only thirty-five pesos, while those of the ex-

pedition are paid sixty ducados, which amount to eighty-two pesos and six reals. Your Majesty will give such commands as you shall be pleased to issue. Until we receive the decision of your royal will in this matter, the accounts of the members of the expedition will not be closed. May our Lord keep the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty, as Christendom has need. Manila, July 1, 1605.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

[*Endorsed*: "The requests in this letter were honored, in virtue of advice given to his Majesty by the council, August 5, 1606."]

Sire:

In two ships which left here for Nueba Hespaña last year, 1604, General Don Diego de Mendoça, of my order,[6] wrote to your Majesty in duplicate, giving information of all the events which had happened here. It pleased God that the flagship should return to port, after having suffered from a tempest during which it was obliged to cut off the mainmast. It returned to this port today, four months after it had left it, although without any loss of the property which it carried. [*Marginal note*: "Let him be informed that this letter has been received and that the council has been advised of what he reports."]

The ship "San Antonio," the almiranta, which left port first, has not been heard from up to the present time. It is regarded as certain that it was lost, by having struck upon some desolate island or some shoals as it was driven by the tempest. A few days before the arrival of the flagship, there were

[6] Referring to the military order of St. John of Jerusalem, to which Acuña belonged.

seen on the coast of this island opposite Manila, and on the Babuyanes, which are some islands in the province of Cagayan, a quantity of bales of cloth from the lading of the almiranta. It is accordingly inferred that the ship was lost on its way to port here, during some very severe storms which took place during that season and in that region. Still, some hopes were entertained that it might have made its way to Nueva España, although with a very small amount of cloth; but these hopes were lost with the coming of the two ships on which arrived the master-of-camp, Juan Desquivel, and the officers of the expedition for Maluco. These vessels, having left Acapulco on the twenty-second of March, reached Cavite on the seventeenth of the present month, and reported that they had no news of the said almiranta. This has been a very great loss, and one which has thrown this kingdom into almost incredible misery. The return of the flagship has added to its wretchedness, because the citizens have nothing from which to obtain money from Nueva España, since their goods have not arrived there. The documents which were sent in the flagship last year go in it again; and in this ship I send duplicates, which your Majesty may give commands to be shown to you.

The matter of the payment of the Indian tributes was settled by the Audiencia, by me, and by the archbishop and the religious orders, in conformity with the directions given me by your Majesty. The assessment which was made accompanies this letter; and therewith will cease many wrongs which have been inflicted upon the natives, and the encomenderos and collectors can satisfy their consciences, if they desire. [*Marginal note*: " Let this section be filed

with the papers which gave occasion to it, and with the report which has been sent, and let the whole be delivered to the fiscal."]

By a royal decree of your Majesty, dated October twenty-fifth of last year, 1603, I was advised that your Majesty had given commands for permission to be granted to the mariscal Graviel de Rivera that, in spite of the fact that he has Indians in encomienda on these islands, he may be permitted to live in the City of Mexico, where he is at present, for two years, on condition that during that period he shall maintain eight musketeers in this garrison at his own expense. I was enjoined to fulfil this command and to see to it that the musketeers should be serviceable men. On the part of the said mariscal, the fulfilment of this decree was demanded, the aforesaid permission being presented; and, although I answered the demand of the mariscal by stating to him the condition of affairs in the island, I have thought best to refer the matter to your Majesty. As soon as I arrived in these islands to undertake my office, I was handed the instructions given to the governor and captain-general who had previously filled them, Don Francisco Tello de Guzman. By section 47 of these directions, it was ordained and commanded that if, when the said Don Francisco Tello should have arrived at Nueva España, the said mariscal should not have returned to the said islands, his encomiendas should be confiscated and should be assigned to others, without permitting reply or excuse; and if any other procedure was followed it was directed that it should be held as null and void. I made inquiries to find out if the said Don Francisco Tello had complied herewith. I discovered that, although he found the said mariscal in

Mexico, he had not complied with the commands given by the said section, but that he had brought him with him to this city, and in a short time had given him permission to return to Nueva Hespaña for three years, under color of having business to do for this city. I also found that the said mariscal had appealed to the Audiencia, affirming that the time was too short, and I learned that he received license to remain for an additional year, making four in all. In truth, however, the power of attorney held by the said mariscal had been revoked by the city before he left it in the year 1600. Upon this, I wrote to the said mariscal in Mexico that, since he was aware of the decree of his Majesty with regard to his absence, he should return to fulfil the duty of residence to which he was obliged in these islands, as soon as the time of his license had expired. If he should go beyond the period allowed, I informed him that his encomiendas would be vacated and would be assigned to others. Since he has not fulfilled the requirement of residence, and since the said term is at an end, therefore, in virtue of the said section of the instructions and in fulfilment of what is decreed by another and separate royal decree, I have commanded that the encomiendas should be vacated, and that one of them, the encomienda of Bonbon, should be granted to General Don Juan Rronquillo del Castillo, a man whose merits, services, and abilities are known to all. This encomienda is at the present time in his possession. The income from the other encomiendas I have commanded to be placed in the royal treasury, which is being done. As for the report of the said mariscal, made to me in Mexico, that he was there with the permission of the Audiencia and governor

on business for the city, I wrote your Majesty, in a letter on the second of November of the year 1601, that it seemed to me proper for permission to reside in Nueva España to be given him, in view of his services and age, since he was serving with eight musketeers in defense of this country. After I arrived here and saw how this matter had been arranged, in view of the aforesaid facts, and of the great inconvenience which results from the non-residence of encomenderos in this country, I vacated the said encomiendas, as it seemed to me that your Majesty would not be served by giving a dispensation to the said mariscal in this matter; and I would not have made the report which I made in Mexico if I had previously seen the documents. [*Marginal note*: "Let this be filed with the papers which deal with this matter."]

Although, as I have said, I assigned the said encomienda to the said Don Juan Ronquillo, appeal was taken on the part of the said mariscal and his son (who was successor to the encomienda) to this royal Audiencia. In this case, after command had been given that a copy of the documents should be furnished to the parties and to the fiscal of your Majesty, and after testimony had been taken as regards the claims of all parties, it was declared that I had authority to vacate the encomiendas of the said mariscal; and it was decreed that the parties should exercise their rights of justice, in conformity with the law of Maliñas.[7] It was further decreed that the said General Don Juan Rronquillo should

[7] The Spanish form of the name of Mechlin, an important city of Belgium, between Antwerp and Brussels. The reference in the text is probably to some law enacted by the emperor Charles V

give bonds that, if at any time it should be decreed that I did not have this authority to assign the said encomiendas, he should return the income which he should have collected therefrom. This decree was, on review, confirmed in all points, and the case is being prosecuted. I may say to your Majesty that General Don Juan Rronquillo is one of the most deserving men of the islands, and one of the highest rank and services here; and further that he is one of those who received the least rewards. He deserves that some favor should be shown to him, as I have previously written. I may add that on account of the aforesaid grant I have discharged him from the office of commander of the galleys, which had been granted to him with eight hundred pesos of yearly salary. If this sum is not paid to him, it is certainly necessary that some compensation should be made to him; and if in this matter that is not carried out which is ordained by the royal decrees – which were formerly so closely followed, especially in this country – much harm will result.

The affairs of Christianity in Japon are in excellent condition, as your Majesty will see from the letters of two religious which are enclosed; but the dissensions between the bishop and the religious orders with regard to those who go by way of these islands to engage in that ministry cause me great anxiety. They have reached a very high point, as your Majesty will learn from the statements which all of them are certain to write to you. In so new a country, governed by heathen kings, to have wrangling and lack of harmony among the religious

while holding his court at Mechlin, during his long stay in the Netherlands.

who instruct them cannot fail to cause scandals and difficulties. Your Majesty will command the proper remedy to be applied. Inasmuch as I see the necessity of ministers of the gospel in that kingdom, and the great results which they have obtained, I have not hindered the passage of religious from these islands to that country, especially as I have seen no decree of your Majesty and no brief of his Holiness to the contrary. [*Marginal note*: "Let this be filed with the other papers dealing with this matter, and let Don Pedro de Acuña be informed that his report has been considered, and that attention is being given to it."]

The chiefs of Mindanao have treated for peace; and, although I had determined to attack them this year and to put an end to them, with the aid of the ordinary reënforcements in men and money, which I was expecting from Nueva Hespaña, still I have thought it best on account of the expedition to Maluco to listen favorably to them; and I shall try to pacify and reduce them by gentle means, since they themselves have offered such means and have sent a representative to treat for peace. I have accordingly agreed to what they desire; yet, since they are Indians, who when they take a whim cannot be restrained from trying to gratify it, I have little confidence that they will keep their promises, since there is no holding them to account except so far as fear will oblige them to it. Still, it seems that this year they have not made any piratical expeditions to these islands, although I am informed that they have attacked some of the other islands in various provinces with a great fleet of caracoas. Being in some doubt, I have kept the provinces of

Pintados in a state of defense with two galleys, which I have sent there, with other vessels; for, as I say, there is little confidence to be placed in the treaties of these tribes. [*Marginal note*: "The council has been informed of this matter."]

When the Sangleys left here last year they brought but little cloth, as I wrote at the time to your Majesty. This they sold, at the same time offering to come again this year with some vessels, and very early. For this cause the country remained entirely without any sort of merchandise, although the citizens had considerable money, as they had no opportunity to invest the returns which had come [from Mexico]. Since the Chinese are very avaricious, it was regarded as certain that some vessels would come without fail, and the swift ones would arrive here much earlier than they ordinarily do in other years: but this did not happen, for it was the end of May before we had any news from China. For this reason and on account of the news which we received from Macan (as I wrote previously) that the Sangleys were coming to these islands to avenge those who died at the time of the revolt, the city was in great anxiety and fear. Yet it pleased God that eighteen vessels should come with a large amount of cloth, which relieved us of our fear; and it now seems that this arrangement had been agreed upon. However, demands had been made upon me on the part of the Chinese for the Sangleys who survived the uprising, whom I had placed in the galleys. The viceroy of Ucheo and an inspector and eunuch, who are two other mandarins who keep constant watch over him, sent me a letter, which will go with this; to this letter I refer, as also to a copy of the

answer which I have made, with the approval of the Audiencia. The style is not very polished, because those who translate it are not very skilful in both languages; and, in order that they may understand it, it is better that the letter should be written in these terms, as experience has showed. We are striving to maintain our friendship with that king, since he is very powerful; and we sustain our position here only by the reputation that we have. [*Marginal note*: "This statement of his has been noted."]

The licentiate Geronimo de Salaçar y Salcedo, fiscal of this royal Audiencia, died two or three months ago. No great loss will result hereby to the affairs to the royal treasury, since he paid little attention to them in his office. For the interim before your Majesty shall appoint a person to fulfil the duties of this position, the Audiencia has appointed the bachelor Rodrigo Diaz Guiral, a man of learning, integrity, and responsibility – such a man as might be desired for this office. My acquaintance with all these qualifications in him has constrained me to call your Majesty's attention to them, so that you might be pleased to favor him; for surely, in my opinion, it would not be possible to find another man more suitable for this office. He has property of his own, and claims and suits give him no anxiety. Accordingly, I have made special efforts to induce him to accept the position; for it is necessary to seek persons like him for such offices. Since he has had so much experience with the business of this office, I have no doubt that he will give a good account of himself. [*Marginal note*: "Referred to the Council."]

The commanders of the galleys which your Majesty has in Hespaña, Italia, Yndias, and other regions appoint for the said galleys a chief chaplain and chaplains. After these are approved and have obtained a license from the ordinary to carry on their ministries, the archbishops and their vicars and the bishops do not trouble themselves about the chaplains. This is a settled and recognized custom, so that no one pays any attention to it except the archbishop of this city, because there is nothing with which he does not meddle. He has handed in a document, maintaining that this is not a concern of your Majesty's but belongs to him, and that he has the right to nominate and approve the chaplains to these positions if he desires, or to decline to approve them. Accordingly, after I had nominated an approved religious, a preacher of the Order of St. Augustine, as chaplain of these galleys, the bishop directed him, under pain of excommunication, not to fulfil this ministry, declaring that I had no authority to make the nomination. Certain other religious who had been chaplains of galleys in Spain, and General Don Diego de Mendoça, and others who had sailed in galleys there, and who were acquainted with the system followed in them, all gave testimony; but this was not sufficient to restrain him from carrying out his purpose. I beg that your Majesty will be pleased to give command that since this matter does not concern him he shall not meddle with it, nor with the other things which are outside his jurisdiction. [*Marginal note*: "Referred to the Council of War."]

In other letters I have reported to your Majesty the great importance, for the security and defense of this

country, of maintaining a supply of galleys, and I have also reported the number which I have supplied with arms. Since they cannot be kept up without an allowance of money sufficient for them, I beg your Majesty to be pleased to command that there shall be set aside twenty thousand ducados from the treasury of Mexico, or else from the ten per cent duty levied at Acapulco upon the merchandise exported hence. The purpose of this fund shall be to maintain four or five galleys, which are necessary here. This is the same amount that is spent in Cartagena for a single galley, and your Majesty may trust me, as one who has looked carefully into the matter, that this is necessary; and that expenditures without this only waste funds and consume lives in gaining nothing. [*Marginal note*: "Referred to the Council of War."]

I shall examine some despatches which have been received here this year, which as yet I have not been able to do because of the necessity of concluding this despatch, and I shall answer them at the first opportunity. May God keep the Catholic person of your Majesty, as Christendom has need.

From the port of Cavite, July 8, 1605.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

[*Endorsed*: "August 2, 1606. Examination and decree within."]

Sire:

Many are the labors of this charge, both bodily and spiritual, and almost without surcease must be the cares of him who holds, on his own account and for your Majesty, the protection, defense, and preservation of a kingdom and provinces so far from your royal person, and amid so many nations, so great in

numbers and so powerful, who have so extraordinary tendencies, laws, and customs. From these we promise ourselves, in time, with the help of God, excellent results for His greater glory and the increase of His church. No one of these things has given me so much anxiety as the conduct of the licentiate Don Antonio de Rivera Maldonado, auditor of this royal Audiencia. This man, with his temper, his haughtiness, and lack of understanding, has given and is giving so many occasions for annoyance to the people, to me, and to his companions – and particularly to the soldiers, and the military and royal officials – that I have had more ado to moderate, adjust, and set right his affairs than all others in my charge. His arrogance is terrible. The citizens, even the most powerful of them, fear him, for they realize that in his position as senior auditor he has the boldness to attempt any design to their harm that comes into his mind, or suits his desires, and that he carries out his plans. Consequently, all cry out to God for redress for his unjust acts. For there is no redress here, and it comes but tardily from your Majesty, owing to the time necessary for it to reach this country. I do all that I can, but he gives me so many provocations that it is a wonder some great quarrel has not occurred. To obviate the difficulty in regard to the troops, I have ordered that the companies of the guard shall not enter in regular order, but in troops, as has been done now for more than five months; for it appears that he was carefully awaiting an opportunity to rout them, horse and foot, with all his blacks. I refer to the two informations, sent herewith, which concern this and the rest. Although I did not choose to make investigations, for the sake of greater secrecy, and to avoid the

annoyances that the witnesses of lower rank might suffer if the said Don Antonio knew that they swore against him therein, measures will be taken to find out what there is in the affair.

The said Don Antonio has persistently striven to bring about his marriage with Doña Margarita de Figuerca, daughter of Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, and has employed many instruments to accomplish this. Several suits have been brought before the royal Audiencia on the part of the said Doña Margarita and her sister, both of whom were minors, against the royal treasury, some of these involving large sums of money, as did that which concerned the conquest of Mindanao. These girls had many suitors, and there were differences of opinion as to where they could reside with the most security and privacy, so that there should be no negotiations concerning their marriages; for they were very rich, and had near relatives to claim guardianship over them – as their grandmother, the wife of the accountant of the royal exchequer; and Captain Francisco de Mercado, whom the father of the minors left as their guardian, and in whose hands was the said property. The said Don Antonio, with this object, began to favor the causes of the above-named persons, and communicated his intention to Andres Duarte de Figueroa, their uncle, the brother of their father – whom he considered a safe person, as he was his intimate friend, and a claimant for the guardianship of the girls. He proceeded so artfully that the guardianship of the minors was denied to all the others by the Audiencia, who commanded that they be given over to the said Andres Duarte, who was an unmarried man. Owing to the pretensions which the said Don Antonio enter-

DOCUMENTS OF 1606

The Dominican mission of 1606. Diego Aduarte, O.P., and others; 1604-06.

The Dutch factory at Tidore. Joan —; March 16.

The Sangley insurrection of 1603. Miguel Rodriguez de Maldonado.

Letter from the Audiencia to Felipe III. Telles de Almaçan, and others; July 6.

Letter from the fiscal to Felipe III. Rodrigo Diaz Guiral; July.

The Terrenate expedition. Council of the Indias; August 5 and 15.

Decree establishing a way-station for Philippine vessels on the California coast. Felipe III; August 19.

Chinese immigration in the Philippines. Pedro Muñoz de Herrera, and others; July-November.

Letter to Acuña. Felipe III; November 4.

SOURCES: All these documents are obtained from foreign archives: the third (a printed pamphlet) from the Real Academia de Historia, Madrid; the sixth, from the Archivo general at Simancas; the seventh, from the British Museum; the last, from the Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid; all the rest, from the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla.

TRANSLATIONS: The first, second, fourth, fifth, and eighth of these documents are translated by Henry B. Lathrop, of the University of Wisconsin; the third and seventh, by James A. Robertson; the sixth and ninth, by Norman F. Hall, of Harvard University.

I, Fray Diego Duarte,[8] of the Order of St. Dominic, affirm that his Majesty by his royal decree, which I present herewith, commanded that in addition to the thirty religious and four servants whom in accordance with his said royal decree I received permission to convey to the Feliphinas Islands, I should conduct ten other religious, making forty in all; and that for the despatch of all of them your Lordship should give me what was necessary at the expense of his royal treasury. This allowance is to be in conformity with the report mentioned in the said decree (which your Lordship has sent to the royal Council of the Yndias), which states the cost of the passage to the Yndias of each religious. Since the time is now far advanced, it is necessary for me to receive the payment for the said religious in or-

[8] Diego Aduarte was born at Zaragoza, about 1570, and at the age of sixteen entered a Dominican convent at Alcalá de Henares. In 1594 he joined the mission to the Philippines, arriving at Manila June 12, 1595. In the following January Aduarte accompanied the expedition sent by Luis Dasmariñas to Cambodia (see VOL. IX, pp. 161-180, 265, 277); the result of this was disastrous, and after many dangers and hardships, and a long illness, he returned to Manila on June 24, 1597. Two years later he went to China, to rescue Dasmariñas (stranded there after another unsuccessful expedition to Cambodia), and remained until February, 1600. Soon afterward he went to Spain on business of his order, arriving there in September, 1603. There he obtained

der that they may make their voyage in the fleet which is about to be despatched to the province of Nueva España, and that his Majesty's commands may be fulfilled. This cannot take effect unless your Lordship provide me with the money necessary to buy clothing and ship supplies, and what else is needed.

Therefore I beg and pray your Lordship to give commands that, in addition to the seven hundred and seventy thousand seven hundred and fifty-two maravedis which the treasurer Don Melchor Maldonado has been commanded to deliver to me, in conformity with the said royal decree issued from the royal council of the treasury, for the despatch of the said religious, there may be delivered and paid to me the amount which, in conformity with the said report sent by your Lordship to the said royal council, shall be necessary and sufficient for the despatch and maintenance of the said ten religious whom, as I have said, his Majesty by his said royal decree commands me to conduct to the said islands in addition to the said thirty religious – for whom only your Lordship has given commands that allowance shall be made to me. Thus your Lordship will do service to our Lord, and will fulfil his Majesty's directions. For this, etc.

FRAY DIEGO DUARTE

a reënforcement of missionaries for the Philippines, arriving at the islands in August, 1606. He was again despatched to Spain (July, 1607), where he remained until 1628; he then returned to the Philippines with another missionary band. He was soon afterward elected prior of the convent at Manila, and later became bishop of Nueva Segovia; but exercised the latter office only a year and a half, dying in the summer of 1636. Aduarte's *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario* (Manila, 1640) is his chief work; we shall present it in later volumes of this series. See biography of Aduarte in *Reseña biografica de los religiosos de la provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas* (Manila, 1891), pp. 148-172.

The aforesaid members of the Council, having considered this petition, give as their decision that a warrant has been delivered for the amount for which he possesses the necessary papers; and that as for the rest for which the said Fray Diego Duarte offers his prayer, he shall receive the papers needed; and they accordingly direct that a warrant shall issue in conformity with the ordinance of the treasury.

Before me: ADRIANO DE SIGUENÇA, notary.

Your Lordship: Fray Diego Duarte of the Order of St. Dominic declares that in accordance with the commands received from your Highness directing him to seek religious of his order in order to conduct them to his province in the Philippinas Islands, he has exerted himself to do so, and will take the number of forty. He offers his petition to your Highness that you will be pleased to command that he shall accordingly be given what is necessary in order that they may go aboard and also what they need to convey them to Sevilla, since [his Majesty] by Don Francisco de Tejada, of his council, gave his royal word to provide him with it. [Without date or signature.]

[*Endorsed*: "Let him receive the two hundred ducados which were decreed to be given. January 11, 1605." "Let father Fray Diego Duarte receive what is needed for himself and thirty religious; and, if he conducts more, for as many as forty, in accordance with the new estimate and report; and let him receive in addition two hundred ducados beside the two hundred which were given him for the living and conveyance of the said religious on their way to Sevilla. Decreed in full council; Valladolid, January 19, 1605."]

List of the Religious who go to the Province of the Holy Rosary in the Philippinas with father Fray Diego Aduarte during the present year, 1605

From San Esteban at Salamanca

Father Fray Diego del Aguila, son of the same convent and at the present time preacher in it, a native of Escalona; aged forty-eight years, thirty-two years in the order.

Father Fray Marcos de los Huertos, son of the same convent, a native of Astudillo; aged twenty-six years, eight years in the order; his studies completed.

Father Fray Pedro de Armejun, son of the same convent, a native of Calahorra; aged twenty-eight years, nine years in the order; his studies completed.

Father Joan de Vera, a son of the same convent, a native of Berlanga; aged twenty-six years, seven years in the order; his studies completed.

Father Fray Martin de la Anunciación, a son of the same convent, a native of Aldea Nueva de la Vera; aged twenty-nine years, seven years in the order; in the third year of theology.

Father Fray Francisco de Santa Maria, a son of the same convent, a native of Fuente de Cantos; aged twenty-eight years, seven years in the order; in the third year of theology.

Father Fray Matheo de la Villa, a son of the same convent, a native of Asturias; aged twenty-five years, six years in the order; his studies completed.

Father Fray Diego Gomez, a son of the same convent, a native of the district of Avila; aged twenty-five years, six years in the order; in the second year of theology.

Father Fray Lorenzo de Ponis, a son of the same

convent, a native of the district of Burgos; aged twenty-seven years, three years in the order; his studies completed, since before he assumed the habit he was far advanced in them.

Brother Fray Gaspar de Casa-Blanca, deacon, a son of the convent of Nuestra Señora at Peña de Francia, a native of the town of Fresneda; aged twenty-three years, six years in the order; in the first year of theology.

Brother Fray Antonio de Salazar, sub-deacon, a native of Salamanca and a son of the convent there; aged twenty-two years, six years in the order; in the first year of theology.

Brother Fray Roque Benito, a son of the convent of San Pedro Martir at Calataiud; aged twenty-one years, seven years in the order; in the second year of theology; a native of Ateca in Aragón.

Brother Fray Antonio Vazquez, lay brother of the same convent, a native of Vittoria; aged twenty-seven years, three years in the order.

Brother Fray Joan Zilarte, lay brother of the same convent, a native of Aldea Nueva de la Vera; aged thirty-two years, eight years in the order.

From San Yldefonso at Toro

Father Fray Lorenzo Campo, a son of the convent of Santo Domingo at Ocaña, a native of Corral de Almaguer; aged twenty-six years, seven in the order; in the second year of theology.

Brother Fray Diego Lopez, deacon, native and son of Plasencia; aged twenty-two years, six years in the order; in the second year of theology.

From Santo Thomás el Real at Avila

Father Fray Francisco del Barrio, native and son

of Victoria; aged twenty-six years, eight years in the order; in the third year of theology.

Father Fray Gabriel Perez, native and son of Ocaña; aged twenty-six years, seven years in the order; in the first year of theology.

From Sancta Cruz at Segovia

Father Fray Ambrosio de Huerta, a son of the convent of Santo Domingo at Ocaña; aged twenty years, three years in the order; his studies completed.

Brother Fray Manuel de Ledesma, a son of the same convent, a native of Segobia; aged twenty-two years, seven years in the order; in the second year of theology.

Brother Fray Gabriel de Zuniga, sub-deacon, a son of the convent of Yepes, a native of Ocaña; aged twenty-two years, seven years in the order; in the first year of theology.

Brother Fray Francisco Rodriguez, a son of the same convent, a native of Guadalaxara; aged thirty years, ten years in the order. He is a lay brother.

From Sancta Cruz at Carboneras

Father Fray Jacinto Lopez de San Gerónimo, a son of the same convent, a native of Torrejoncillo de Huete; aged twenty-eight years, eleven years in the order; his studies completed.

Father Fray Joan de Cuebas, a son of the same convent and lecturer on the arts therein, a native of Cardenete; aged twenty-five years, nine years in the order.

From San Pedro Martyr at Toledo

Father Fray Joseph de San Jacinto, a son of the convent of Ocaña, a native of Salvanes; aged twenty-

five years, eight years in the order; in the second year of theology.

Brother Fray Pedro Gomez, deacon, a son of the convent San Ginés at Talavera, a native of the same place; aged twenty-three years, seven years in the order; in the first year of theology.

From San Pablo at Valladolid

Father Fray Jacinto Orfanel, a son of the convent of Santa Catalina at Barcelona, a native of the district of Valencia; aged twenty-eight years, eight years in the order; his studies completed.

From the college of San Gregorio at Valladolid

Father Fray Pedro Balberde, a native of the district of Córdova, a son of the convent of San Pablo at Cordoba; aged twenty-five years, seven years in the order; his studies completed.

From the college of Santo Thomás at Alcala

Father Fray Melchor Mançano, a native of Villaseusa de Aro, a son of the convent of Santo Domingo at Ocaña; aged twenty-six years, nine years in the order; his studies completed.

Father Fray Joan de Leiba, a native of La Rioja, a son of the convent of Nuestra Señora at Atocha; aged thirty years, ten years in the order; his studies completed.

Father Fray Andres de Velasco, a native of La Rioja, a son of the convent of San Pablo at Burgos; aged twenty-eight years, ten years in the order, his studies completed.

Brother Fray Joan Ordima, deacon, son of the convent of San Pedro Martyr at Toledo, a native of the

same place; aged twenty-four years, eight years in the order; his studies completed.

Brother Fray Juan Rodriguez Morcillo, deacon, son of the convent of La Madre de Dios at Alcalá, a native of Madridejos; aged twenty-three years, seven years in the order; in the second year of theology.

From Santa Maria at Nieva

Father Fray Domingo del Arco, a native of the district of Guadalaxara, a son of the convent of La Madre de Dios at Alcalá; aged twenty-six years, six years in the order. He is not far advanced in his studies, but is very well fitted for this expedition.

From Santiago in Galicia

Father Fray Garcia Oroz, a native of the district of Pamplona, a son of the convent of Nuestra Señora at Atocha; aged fifty years, thirty years in the order. This father has been in Nueva España. I ask for a dispensation that he may have permission to accompany me, for he will be of great use in this expedition and to that province.

From the convent of La Magdalena at Alfararín, in the kingdom of Aragón

Father Fray Domingo Vicente, a son of the convent of Preachers in Zaragoza; aged twenty-six years, eight years in the order; a native of the district of Calatayud; his studies completed.

From the convent of San Pedro Martyr at Calatayud

Brother Fray Jacinto Francin, deacon, a native of Caspe and a son of the convent there; aged twenty-

three years, five years in the order; in the first year of theology.

From the convent of Corpus Christi at Luchente

Father Fray Dionisio de Rueda, a son of the same convent; aged thirty-two years, sixteen years in the order; his studies completed. He is a native of Valencia.

In addition, I expect from the kingdoms of Cataluña and Valencia as many as twelve other religious who, as I certainly know, are very suitable persons for this mission, but I do not know their names. I shall not be able to learn these names until the religious reach here, which will be very late. I beg your Highness to be pleased to send me a license, so that I may have authority to take all of them; for, in the confidence that I should receive that permission, I have searched them out and disturbed them in their convents. I swear, on the faith of a religious and a priest, that those whom I have assigned so far are the aforesaid.

FRAY DIEGO ADUARTE

With regard to nearly all of those whose names appear in the list I am certain that they are religious of approved life and holy zeal, and that they will be able to do good service to our Lord in the conversion of the kingdoms and countries of the Indians. Many of them I saw on the road to Sebilla going on foot, to the edification of others, and in the order of sanctity. In the case of two or three I have found no one who knew them; but I trust in God and in the excellent zeal and choice of father Fray Diego Duarte that they will be like the rest. This is what I know; and

in testimony of its truthfulness I have signed it with my name. In the convent of San Pablo at Valladolid, June 4, 1605.

FRAY GARCIA GUERRA, Master[9] and Procurator.

[*Endorsed*: " Let the documents necessary for the expenses of these religious be issued. Valladolid, on the sixth of June, one thousand six hundred and five.]"

To Diego de Vergara Gaviria, receiver of oaths in this Council: From the sums in your charge received for court fines give and pay to Fray Diego de Duarte of the Order of St. Dominic, two hundred ducados, amounting to seventy-five thousand maravedis, which it has been commanded to give him in addition to two hundred ducados which by warrant of this Council, dated August 31 last, in the year 604, we commanded you to pay him. This is on account of the expenses which he is obliged to incur in the conveyance and support of the religious. Take his receipt, with which and with this warrant the accountants of his Majesty who aid this Council shall receive and credit you on account the sum which you shall thus pay him. At Valladolid, on the thirty-first of August in the year one thousand six hundred and four.[10]

Signed by the Council.

A true report of the difficulties of conducting religious to the Philipinas, because of the severe

[9] Master (Latin *magister*, Spanish *maestro*): a title of honor given to religious of venerable age or distinguished services; see Du Cange, *s.vv. dominus ordinis, magister ordinis.*

[10] So in the MS., but aparently an error of *cuatro* for *cinco* (" five "), as the evidence of this and the other documents of this group indicates that this warrant was given in 1605, not 1604.

restrictions imposed by the decrees of his Majesty in regard to the matter.

Although taking religious to any part of the Indias is a very arduous undertaking, it is incomparably more so to convey them to the Philippinas, since the journey is much longer, and there are more places on the way at which it is necessary to have dealings with royal officials. Accordingly, this voyage offers difficulties twice as great as the others. Not only is it necessary to cross two great seas – those of the North [Atlantic] and of the South [Pacific] – besides the difficult journey across the country of Nueva España from one ocean to the other, but in addition his Majesty obliges us who make this journey to pass through so many hands and through so many registries as are certainly intolerable. If affairs be always conducted thus, it will be truly impossible to make the voyage according to the very severe regulations laid down by his Majesty, and with the very slight assistance given by his officials to the religious. I do not expatiate upon the great difficulties in obtaining religious, on their own side, as they are the sons of many mothers; and as soon as they begin the journey they hear a thousand things in regard to the evils of the country where they are going. Even if nothing more is said of it than that there is neither bread nor wine therein, that is enough to daunt a giant. Then those who by their strength of character overcome these difficulties at the edge of the water are frightened at the sea, and at the dismal prophecies that are usually current, that the fleet will be lost on account of sailing very late (as it almost always does) from España. Thus many of the religious have not courage to embark; while those who overcome this

difficulty and do go aboard, being new to the sea and seeing themselves in so narrow a space as is that of one ship, and being very seasick – indeed, there are many who during the whole voyage cannot raise their heads – are delighted to find themselves on shore alive. Then having set foot on the land of Nueva España, from which they understand that they are obliged to pass anew through all that they have already suffered, and over a much larger ocean, they are put to the test by the climate; some die, and others find themselves attacked by a thousand sicknesses. They get there no better report about the country to which they are going than they had in España – indeed a much worse one, as it is received from eyewitnesses, both laymen and friars; and they dare not go on farther. All these difficulties have to be conquered by the commissary who conducts them, by means of his prudence, of which he needs a goodly supply. He is obliged to conduct them with love, for the religious are not of a character to be treated with rigor and violence, especially in a matter contrary to flesh and blood, when they exile themselves to those distant countries, so hot and so sterile, leaving their own land, which perhaps they can never forget. Hence, if they were to be treated with violence the result which your Majesty desires would not follow, that is, the service of God and of your Majesty's self in the conversion of souls. Not only would they, if thus treated, destroy more than they would build up, but they would serve only to disquiet those who were there occupied in the building up of that great church. These difficulties themselves are not so small; but it is reasonable to add the other and greater ones, such as are those of sending the religious away,

and those which are stated in the following paragraphs.

What occurs at Valladolid in despatching this business. The first of the difficulties is in the first steps taken to bring the journey before the Council at the court. These steps are many; and anyone who goes thither without money – and those who come from the Philippinas to treat for this matter generally have no money – will find it necessary to take a great many more steps, since the officials regard that time as lost which they spend upon despatching the business of a man who offers them no advantages. Accordingly, it is not possible to obtain documents from them except by dint of importunate prayers, and these necessarily require much going about; this in the streets of Valladolid in winter is a very arduous task, especially for religious, who cannot leave their convent whenever they please. Still, to avoid this going from place to place is impossible if the business is to be carried on. After obtaining an order from the Council of the Indias, which one cannot generally get at the first request, it is necessary to obtain a second order from the Council of the Exchequer with regard to the allowance for the journey, and both of these must be recorded by the accountants of both councils. Although this may be necessary to give further security to the decrees of his Majesty and to relieve them from any suspicion of forgery, still, as those which are given to religious persons, and for so pious a purpose as this, are free from such suspicion, they may well be privileged in some respects and need not be obliged to pass through so many registries. On account of the great number of matters which are attended to in Valladolid, documents cannot pass

through all the registries without taking much time. Accordingly, much trouble is necessarily caused in the hospices [*i.e.*, guest-houses] of the convents where they lodge, and the commissioner who takes charge of this business is also obliged to suffer even more inconvenience – finding that for business so much to the advantage of our lord the king, and requiring so great labor and responsibility on his own part, and in which there is not a trace of profit to himself, it should be necessary to make such exertions at the very beginning. I confess, for my part, that I would have given up at this first station on the route if I had not supposed that all the hindrances to this voyage that I could encounter in the direction of his Majesty would have ended at this point; but later it will be seen how completely deceived I was in this notion. However, it is as well that all those who concern themselves with this business should be so deceived at the beginning, for if they were not they would give up this work, pious as it is.

The smallness of the allowance for conducting the religious to Sevilla. Further, the amount which your Majesty commands to be granted in Valladolid for conveying the religious from their convents to Sevilla, is insufficient by far for the expense thus incurred. I conducted the religious who accompanied me to Sevilla in the greatest poverty, for many of them went on foot, and he who was best equipped rode an ass. Yet I arrived in Sevilla burdened by a debt of more than two hundred ducados, merely from the expenditure which I was obliged to make on their account.

In Sevilla. In Sevilla, which is the second stopping-place, another troop of difficulties are en-

countered. In general, it is customary at the House of Trade to make some additions to the decrees of his Majesty; in order that these be accepted a great number of requirements must be fulfilled, the lack of any one of which is sufficient to invalidate the documents. Usually some one of these is lacking, from which it is easy to understand the embarrassment in which he must be who has charge of this matter, when he finds himself and his companions already in Sevilla without sufficient means for their support. This happened to me, and I am certain that I was not the first, and that he who follows me will not be the last, thus situated. I found myself in such embarrassment as the result of this that I was almost on the point of abandoning the enterprise at that time.

The small allowance for provisions on the voyage. Moreover, the amount granted in Sevilla for the entire support of the religious is far from sufficient for this purpose. If the amount commanded to be granted to them is divided into vestments, bedding, carriage of books, and freight-charges from Sevilla to Sanlucar, the amount allowed for the ship supplies for each person comes to only twenty-two ducados, which is all that they actually had. It is easy to see that it is impossible to obtain with this, or even approach, all that is necessary. It is certainly true that for bread and wine alone, I spent almost all of what the king granted me for supplies on the voyage; and that I had to encroach upon what was granted me for vestments and what clothes the friars themselves used for apparel. In addition, I was unable to pay all that we owed in Sevilla to the convent for the days during which we had remained there; accordingly, when I left it I was out of favor with the prior and the

other brethren of the convent and yet I reduced to a very limited amount the supplies for the voyage. This is the statement of facts *in verbo sacerdotis*; for it may be evident in what straits we were, to anyone who has received as allowance for this purpose no more than that which the king gives, as ordinarily those who come from the Philippinas have only that amount.

The requirement that the Council shall approve the religious who are to go is severe and useless. After all this, the requirement of making the voyage under the very severe rule that the Council shall approve the friars who are to go to the Indias brings the whole undertaking within obvious risk of failure. If the list of names of the religious who are going must be certain and accurate, it cannot be sent to the Council before they are all assembled in Sevilla; for up to that point it is very uncertain who are to go. Even then it still remains uncertain, for many come back from Sevilla. The ordinary state of affairs is that all are gathered there a few days only before the departure of the fleet, for, if they go much sooner, there is no means for their support; for his Majesty gives commands to provide a real and a half daily for every religious, while the contribution demanded from the convent is three reals a day for each one. Now, if the list of names of the religious cannot be sent to Valladolid earlier, even if it should be approved there at the very moment – and usually business there is despatched quite otherwise – it is necessary that the approval shall come back from Valladolid immediately, or else the fleet will have departed, or be on the point of going. In the meantime the religious are in suspense, without knowing

whether they are to make the voyage or no; for in the House of Trade at Sevilla they either refuse to give them the grant necessary for their support until the approval of the Council arrives, or, if they grant it in advance, they require a bond which the poor commissary does not know where to find – and which even if he could find it would be unwise for him to give, since he has no means by which to satisfy it in case the Council decree some other thing than what he expects. If, on the other hand, the House of Trade allows the grant after the appropriation arrives, the time is so short that it is impossible to provide the supplies for the voyage, except very poorly and in great haste, and at a very high price, since one must purchase without time for examination. Besides this, the religious are greatly hurt to find themselves subjected to an examination at the hands of the Council with regard to their life, their habits, and their family, just as if to permit them to go to the Indias were as much as to appoint them to bishoprics; this has greatly cooled their ardor. If the commissary who conducts them is not a man of great prudence, so that he can gild and smooth over this annoyance, it is certain that not one of them will go farther. Much more is it true that, if the rule should become known in the provinces of Castilla and Aragon, whence the religious for these missions usually go, no one would enter them; for if a man is required to leave his own country and his relatives and friends, and exile himself to the end of the world, at the risk of being excluded from the missions by the Council of the Indias, that would be the same as to put on him an eternal *sanbenito* [11] in his order. Indeed, who would volun-

[11] The garment placed by the tribunal of the Inquisition upon

tarily subject himself to an interrogation of this sort? May it please God that, even if the bridge be made of silver, they shall be willing to go, all the more for so long and hard a voyage as that to the Philippinas, which in itself involves so many difficulties that only the arm of God can overcome them. It would be well to entrust to the commissary who conveys them this examination into their life and habits, for, if he is a conscientious man, he knows well that he lays a burden upon his conscience if he conducts ministers who will not unburden the conscience of the king; and, if he is not conscientious, these ordinances are ineffective, for, as they are so rigorous, he will evade them with very little trouble and at no expense to himself, for the whole matter must rest upon the honesty with which he is willing to act.

Registry fees in Sanlucar. In Sanlucar is the third stopping-place. Here, however well a man may have managed his business in getting out of Sevilla, there are never lacking hindrances; for whenever religious are registered there for passage they always meet with some obstacle, if it be nothing more than being asked for fees. These fees are demanded by the clerk of the registry and by the inspector of the ships, who is usually an official of the House of Trade at Sevilla. This demand for a fee for every religious who goes through is a very base thing. As for me, I was asked for three reals apiece by the clerk. As I thought that the act was an injustice, I went to the accountant and reported the case to him; it seemed even worse to him, and he told me that he would correct it. He did so by telling me on the following day that I

persons who, after trial, became penitent and were reconciled to the church.

should give the clerk what he asked for, and a real and a half more for every one; and that, if I did not do so he would not permit me to go aboard. This is the truth, *in verbo sacerdotis.* It seems to me that since the king does not require us to pay fees for our books and clothes, still less ought we to be asked to pay fees for our persons. I sent a complaint to the duke of Medina, who was greatly offended, and condemned the act, so finally they gave me my despatch for almost nothing.

Fees on the Northern Sea. At sea there is another registry at the time of the inspection of the ships, which generally takes place in mid-ocean at some time when the wind is fair, at the pleasure of the commander of the fleet. In truth, it seems as if it were invented solely for the gain which the officials obtain from it. They exact twelve reals from every passenger; and since the poor are usually by that time drained so dry that most of them go on board without a single real – having spent everything on expenses in port, the king's fees, and the ingenious exactions of the custom-house officers and excisemen – they suffer more from this than from everything else that they have previously spent. In my case they did me the honor to excuse me from the fees for the religious, but refused to do so for the servants whom we brought with us. Finally, however, we brought them to the point of agreeing to this because it was plain that we all had come by the order of his Majesty. This affair was the cause of no small embarrassment and resentment for all.

From San Joan de Lua to México. In the port of San Joan de Lua [12] in Nueva España is the fourth

[12] San Juan de Ulua (or Lua, also Ulloa), in Mexico, was

station on the route. It is not the most comfortable one, although it ought to be so, since all arrive there much exhausted and worn out by the voyage. There one begins anew to deal with royal officials, to whom money must be given. Thus after we have passed the ocean the torments begin, which have no mercy upon those whom the ocean has many times spared. At that port it is very necessary to have something left over from one's sea-stores, for the expenses are very great in this country. The vicar must not be niggardly in distributing them, if he has to transact any business; or he must arm himself with patience, which is very necessary. His Majesty commands that the religious be provided there with what they need from his royal treasury for the journey which they must make to México. They allow them only ten days for the journey, and provide food only for that period. The road is eighty leguas in length and is very rough, so that it takes a well-mounted horseman with a light load all of ten days to make it. How much more must it take for people going in company, and with a string of pack animals (as the religious ordinarily travel), who do not expect to go more than five or six leguas a day. Moreover, they are traveling in countries of varying climates; one of these being hot and the next cold, they often fall ill on the road, and some cannot travel farther. It is no small achievement for those in health to reach México in twenty days. That which is allowed them for ten days' journey is not enough,

thus named (1518) for St. John and in honor of Juan Grijalva, one of Cortés's officers, who in that year discovered Yucatan. In the summer of the following year, Cortés founded, not far from this place, the city of Vera Cruz.

as is very certain, in this country; how, then, will it suffice for twenty?

In México. In the City of México, which is the court of Nueva España, is the fifth stopping-place, where all of the difficulties which have been experienced at the court of our lord the king and in the city of Sevilla are renewed; because here one has to deal with royal officials in order to obtain money, and with the officials of his lordship the viceroy regarding the formalities necessary for the second embarcation. And both classes of officials make themselves so much the owners of the poor religious who has need of them that, when they again commence their demands here, he would, even if he had the patience of a Job, need all of it because of the many occasions which are here offered for his losing it. Although I arrived at México burdened with the expenses of the journey, and had no food and no place from which to get it, the royal officials are not obliged to pay a single maravedi until all the party have passed through their registers. This will be done when they please. They inquire from the religious where their homes are, and who are their parents – a very unpleasant thing. One requires great assistance from Heaven in order not to resent it bitterly. They put so little confidence in his word and oath that what they do not see with their own eyes it is not worth while to swear to them. It happened, on the day when they registered me, that I did not have with me three religious, who were lying sick in the city of Los Angeles, which is on the route hither. Although I told the royal officials of this and swore it *in verbo sacerdotis*, that did not avail to make them give me the subsistence which I was obliged to send

to those sick men. After this, since the stay in México is long, lasting for almost a half a year, they asked money whenever they paid the tri-yearly allowance, and for every warrant they charged ten pesos, which comes to eighty[18] pesos. The payment is made in silver, to exchange which for current money causes a great deal of loss. Thus all of these pilferings consume the little which is given to the religious. I pass over the fact that it is impossible to collect money due without taking many steps and hearing many rude answers and sometimes insulting language. At one time when I was making such claims, one of the Méxican accountants uttered to me, before respectable witnesses, an insult which cut me to the heart, because I felt it as a man; and if he had uttered those words to one of his slaves, it might have wounded him.

In Acapulco. At the port of Acapulco is the last stopping-place. I do not even know what happens there, for at the time of writing this report we have not arrived there; but I have sufficient evidence that it must be the most burdensome of all. It is about three months since I have had three religious there, being obliged to send them in advance that they might prepare there what is needed for the voyage. One of them with my power of attorney requested the royal officials there to grant them a house, as is usual and customary, that they might collect there the ship-stores which are on the way from México, and might lodge the friars there when about to make the jour-

[18] In our copy of this document (the official transcript) the text reads *que son 80 pesos*; but as in half a year but two of these tri-yearly payments would be made, it seems more probable that this was intended for *20 pesos*.

View of Acapulco – Levinus Hulsius (Franckfurt am Mayne, M. DC. XX)

[*From original in Library of Harvard University*]

ney. They presented for this purpose your Majesty's decree which I possess, and the officials replied that they would not grant them the house without a command from the viceroy. I sent this to them, and they made I know not what additions, and so have sent it back to me. During the two months and more that have been occupied with these demands and answers, the poor friars have slept on the ground, without having anyone to take them into his house – except that, being taken ill, they were received in the hospital. It is with all these hardships and difficulties that this voyage, so much to the service of God and of his Majesty, is taken, besides those experienced in the voyage itself, which are enough to make the beard of the bravest tremble. His Majesty requires, in spite of all this, that all of the religious who go from España to Philippinas must proceed thither, without permission being granted for any to remain in Nueva España; but there is no means less suitable to gain that end than obliging them to pass through so many difficulties. They come out of them so much grieved and humiliated that their courage and good will in serving his Majesty has come to an end. To transport them by force most certainly is no profit to his royal service, much less to the service of God. It does no good to the cause of religion, as I said in the beginning. Besides this, if your Majesty is pleased that we religious shall pass through so many registries without having our word or oath believed in them, because of the fraud that might exist in the amounts allowed to us from his royal treasury – if we are not to be trusted in this matter, much less shall be so in regard to the relief of his conscience, for which he sends us to those regions.

Hence it seems that sending us might be dispensed with; the more since his Majesty entrusts this matter to his royal officials to whose direction and command he subjects us religious. They, perhaps supposing that by showing themselves rigorous in a matter of such piety they are likely to be regarded as zealous for the protection of the royal treasury in all other matters, draw the string until it breaks. But it is evident that there are royal officials in the Indias who maintain princely houses, perhaps without having inherited means for this from their parents. With regard to them it is plainly known that they serve the king solely for their own advantage; yet his Majesty trusts more to them than to disinterested religious who ask for nothing but their food and lodging on the road. If this costs much, it is because the journey is so tedious. Although at this point it might be said that the accounts of the royal officials have to be audited in due time, and that therefore they are more to be trusted, I, who have seen much of the world and know what happens in it, know also what is the fact in this matter. It is, that he who goes out of office richest at the time of the residencia goes out the best justified; hence, for fear of that, he never fails to make his profit. I do not mean to say that there should be no order or system in regard to the grant allowed by his Majesty to the religious for these missions; but I mean that his Majesty should command his officials to believe them at least on their oath, and that when they are obliged to give their oath they should not be annoyed as they have been hitherto.

The only objection to this is the irregularities of the fathers commissaries who have taken religious to the

Indias. These, it is said, have obliged his Majesty to impose such restrictions in this matter, and as a safeguard against irregularities which may occur in future – because there have been commissaries who have taken fewer religious than the king provided for, thus defrauding his royal treasury by spending on a few that which was allowed for many. To this I reply, first, that there is no fraud upon the royal treasury, inasmuch as the allowance made by it for four is insufficient for the support of three, as appears from the previous statements of what happened to me in Sevilla. Hence there is not in this the evil design which seems to exist. The second point is that, as a result of these oppressive orders, the condition of things is sure to be much worse, since many more friars are certain to remain in Sevilla and Nueva España, even after they have received money from the royal treasury for their ship-stores. After this has once been paid none of it can ever be restored to the treasury, even if a great excess were left; since whatever would be restored to the treasury, of all this which has been obtained from it with so many documents and precautions, would not go to it but to its officials. This would be the more true inasmuch as they, however justified they might be, would be unwilling to accept the things in kind, for fear of being obliged to give an account of them afterwards. This might subject them to great danger of loss. Above all, if the commissary were to reveal this matter to the officials, they would put an embargo on the whole affair, and he would undergo the risk of being unable to undertake the voyage. This happened to me once, for, being very fond of following truth and honesty, I told the royal officials of this City of Mexico

that two religious of my company had received my permission to remain here, as that was expedient for the service of God and of his Majesty, and declared that I did not require living expenses and ship-stores for them. The officials, in place of trusting me at seeing that I proceeded without fraud or falsehood, cut off the provisions for all of my company, refusing for more than twenty days to give me what his Majesty commanded to be allowed for the support of the religious. Thus I was almost on the point of being unable to make the journey; for I used up on their living in México all of the ship-stores which I had provided for the sea. Accordingly, in their desire to prevent two from remaining here, they incurred the risk that all of us might be compelled to remain. I stated this to the royal officials and the viceroy in a petition, and gained nothing by it. This is the kind of inconveniences which follow from practicing honesty with regard to the decrees of his Majesty.

As for the aforesaid, I, Fray Diego Aduarte, vicar of the religious of Saint Dominic who are going to the Philippinas, swear *in verbo sacerdotis* that it is true, and I sign it with my name. At Mexico, January 20, 1605.

FRAY DIEGO ADUARTE

[*Endorsed*: "February 12, 1607, referred to Señor Don Francisco de Tejada to examine the papers and report thereon to the council."

"February 16, 1607, examined; the decrees within."]

[*Endorsed*: "Let the House of Trade state why dues are collected from every religious who goes on

his Majesty's account to the Indias, and let it give an account of the amount charged for registration; and in the meantime, and until further orders, let it take no fees, and issue a decree that the officers shall not levy these dues.

"Let the approval of the religious conducted by father Fray Graviel de San Antonio to the Filipinas be entrusted to Señor Don Francisco de Vaste; and on the credit of this alone let the House of Trade, for this one time, furnish him with provision for the friars' support during the voyage.

"Write to the viceory of Nueva España to direct the royal officials and all other officers to despatch with promptitude and treat with kindness the religious who go to the Filipinas by command of his Majesty and at his Majesty's expense; and let them take no fees for the despatch of their persons and their books, or for the warrants for collection of the expenses which they incur on the journey.

"In regard to everything else contained in this petition and report from father Fray Diego Aduarte, let that be decreed which is fitting to the service of God and his Majesty."]

(Most Powerful Sire: I, Fray Gabriel de San Antonio,[14] vicar of the religious who by order of

[14] Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio came to the Philippines in 1595, and was assigned to the mission among the Chinese in Binondo; but he could not learn their language, and, becoming discouraged thereat, returned to Spain. Finally, being troubled by his conscience for having abandoned his post, he obtained permission from his superiors to conduct a band of new missionaries to the islands. Embarking with them, he was overcome by sickness and the hardships of the voyage, and died before reaching Mexico (1608). He was appointed (apparently after his departure on this journey) bishop of Nueva Cáceres.

your Highness are to go this year to the Philippinas, declare that father Fray Diego Aduarte, who conducted the religious who last went to the said islands, found, in spite of the liberal grant made by your Majesty to him, some difficulties which greatly hindered his voyage, as appears from his report herewith enclosed. Of all these difficulties the gravest are three. The first is, that the officials of the House of Trade at Sevilla are unwilling to pay to the commissioner or vicar who conducts the religious the money which your Highness commands to be given for their voyage, unless he first gives good and sufficient bonds that he will return the money in case the religious do not embark; the second is, that the convent of San Pablo at Sevilla and that of Santo Domingo at Sanlucar, where the religious are entertained, demand from them three reals a day, although your Highness grants only a real and a half; the third is, that the registry clerks are unwilling to record the grants to the religious unless they receive three reals for each person. As a result, since that which your Highness grants for the voyage is but little, they put so much difficulty in the way that the religious are unable to go on, and the commissary or vicar who conducts them is prevented, to that extent, from fulfilling his obligations and the service of your Highness.

He prays your Highness, in view of the service which he has done for your Highness in the Philippinas, in Eastern Indias, and in sending out the religious whom he, father Fray Diego Aduarte, conducted, and in that which he is now about to undertake in his own person, and considering how small is the allowance granted to the religious for their

voyage, that your Majesty will be pleased to make an allowance for additional expense for himself and for the religious whom he conducts with him; and he prays your Majesty that, in order to relieve the difficulties referred to, you will decree that which is most suitable to your royal service and to the prompt despatch of the religious.

FRAY GABRIEL DE SAN ANTONIO)

THE DUTCH FACTORY AT TIDORE

Testimony of a Dutchman named Juan who was taken in the factory at Tidore

In the port of Tidore, on the sixteenth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand six hundred and six, the captain and sargento-mayor Christoval Asqueta Minchaca of the regiment of the master-of-camp Joan de Esquibel, the royal commander of this fleet, declares that the said master-of-camp, Joan de Esquibel, sent to him in his ship a foreigner, whom he found with others in the factory [15] at Tidore, that he might undergo examination.

The following interrogatory was put to this man: "What are the names of this declarant and his companions? In what vessels did they come? How many are there in Maluco and in these Eastern Yndias? In what regions have they been, each of them, and how long in each region, and in what vessels did they come? To whom do these vessels belong? who equipped them? on whose account did they make their voyage? and for whom is this factory conducted? Are this factory and that of Terrenate all one, belonging to the same owners? With what permission did they come to these regions?"

[15] The word "factory," as here used, refers to the place where the factors, or agents, of a commercial company reside and transact the business entrusted to them.

He said that he was named Joan and was a native of Amberes, a Christian, and had been baptized in the said city. Of his companions, the factor, named Jacome Joan, is a Dutchman, a native of the city of Absterdaem; the second is named Pitri, a native of Yncussa in the islands of Olanda; a third is named Costre, by his last name, and this declarant does not know his first name. He is a native of Campem, of the states of Olanda. This declarant came to these regions in the ship of the [Dutch] vice-commander, which voyaged in company with the other four; and they seized Ambueno and this fort of Tidore. It is eight months since they left him on this island, and two months before they had anchored in the said port, the said five ships had halted for supplies in Java, where they remained fifteen days. Jacome Joan, who is at present factor of this island of Tidore, has spent five years in Terrenate. This declarant does not know from what place he came. The merchants of Jelanda of the city of Millburg – named Joan Comne, another Burriel, and another Muniq, natives of Amberes – are known to this declarant, and have other associates in Olanda in the city of Ambstradama, in Cuyssem and in Horrem.[16] All of these together have a common purse, and it is all one amount; it is they who have equipped these vessels for this expedition. The names of the citizens of these cities of Olanda and Gelanda are known to one of the associates of this declarant, the

[16] These names are merely phonetic renderings of the names of certain Dutch cities. Absterdaem and Ambstradama are for Amsterdam; Yncussa (and probably Cuyssem), for Enkhuysen (or Enchuysen); Campem, for Campen; Amberes, for Antwerp; Millburg, for Middleburg; Horrem, for Hoorn. Olanda and Gelanda are for Holland and Zeeland.

one named Costre. The factories of Tidore and of Terrenate are all one, owned by the same persons. In Ambueno, in Java, in Banda, in Sunda, in Pajani, in Achi, on the coast of Vengala,[17] and in some regions the names of which are not known to this declarant the said merchants have factories, under such an arrangement that the whole affair is all one thing, owned by the same proprietors. Of these fleets none set sail except by permission of the prince of Oranje, to whom is given the part which pertains to him as lord. And this is his answer.

He was asked, "What ship is the one which was met by this fleet? whence comes it? what arms and artillery, powder and provisions does it carry? whence are they obtained and provided? and where have they their factory?" He answered that the ship about which the inquiry is made is one of the five which came with this witness when they seized the said forts of Ambueno and Tidore. The captain was a certain Gertiolfos, a native of Olanda. He set sail from Yncussen with money and provisions for only two years. He has been cruising about these islands for ten months, and in the opinion of this declarant the said ship carries at present forty seamen, more or less; while the exact number of the forces in the said ship will be stated by Costre and Pitri, since they came as seamen in her. This declarant does not know that they carry more arms than are needed to arm all the men on board her. Their weapons are muskets, arquebuses, and half-pikes. When this declarant went aboard the ship, it seemed to him she had twenty-nine or thirty pieces of artil-

[17] That is: Achin (or Acheen), in Sumatra; Pajang, a province in Java; and Bengal, in India.

lery. As for her provisions they get them in places where they have factories. He does not know how much gunpowder they carry, except that they came out from Olanda and Jelanda provided with it.

He was asked what treaties they had with the king of Tidore and the king of Terrenate, and what oaths the king of Tidore had made to them; he replied that the treaty which they had made is of the following nature: The king of Tidore at the time when they took this fort told the commander of the fleet, who was called Cornieles Bastian, that they should leave here forces and that he would build a fort where these might be kept, so that if Portuguese or Castilians came they might be able to defend the country; while he would assure them that the country should be for the Dutch. The commander answered that he had not a sufficient force to be able to leave any to defend the country; and the said king asked him to leave three or four Dutchmen, that they might carry on their trade and barter. When the commander asked with what security he could leave them, and what the other would do, the said king then caused the books of his Mahometan religion to be brought; and, laying his hands upon them, made an oath after his custom that he would protect, favor, and defend the Dutch as if they were his own sons. In the same manner he swore that he would sell cloves to no people except to the Dutch, unless extreme need of food should force him to sell them to some other people, in which case he would not sell them except to Java. In this manner was carried out that which is contained in this interrogatory. Being asked if the kings of Tidore and Terrenate were at peace, and how and under what conditions,

for how long a time, and who intervened in forming the peace – he answered that it is a matter of public knowledge in this region that they have not made peace or amity, but that both kings are at war.

When asked what goods they have in the factory on this island of Tidore, what amount of cloves is due to them, who they are who owe the Dutch, and how many the king owes – he answered that the goods which they have in the factory are bales of cloth – such as fine muslins and linens, gauzes [*word illegible*] and iron. This declarant knows that the king of Tidore owes the factory a great amount of cloves, and that some of the people of Tidore likewise owe some. He refers to the accounts of the factor. Being asked who or which of them keeps the book of accounts and reckoning of the factory, that he might exhibit it, he answered that the factor, named Jacone Joan, had it, and he referred to him.

Being asked with what intention they remained in these islands, when they expected to leave them, and whether they intended to maintain a permanent trade there – he responded that this declarant and his companions remained in order that commerce with the people of Tidore and Terrenate might be opened, and that they were waiting for ships from Olanda in which a commanding officer and troops would come to remain as colonists and inhabitants, like the Portuguese, and to carry on commerce with the islands from Olanda and Jelanda. And this is his answer.

Being asked what offer they had made to the kings of Terrenate and Tidore as to aiding and assisting them against the Spaniards: he answered that the king of Tidore had agreed with the commander that

if the Spaniards came with such a fleet that he would be unable to resist them he would be obliged to yield the country; and by consequence, if the Dutch had a force sufficient to take it from the Spaniards or Portuguese, he was not sufficiently powerful to defend the country against them. He knew that the commander had written to Java that six vessels which he had been informed were to go to Java should come here; after this had been done, the said commander went back to Patan, but the ships had not come. This declarant does not know that more vessels have arrived or set out than the five of which he has spoken.

Being asked if they expect any ships, how many there are, when they are to come, how many came out in a fleet from Olanda, and at what time they set sail – this declarant replied that he was certain, now that the commerce here had been begun and this fort established, that vessels would come. He does not know the number, but the said factor will have an account thereof. When this man who is making his confession set sail, there set out from Olanda and Jelanda twelve ships. They were divided after the following manner: Two of them separated from the others at the Cape of Buena Esperanza [*i.e.,* Good Hope], at the island of Sant Lorenço, and two others at Masanvique [*i.e.,* Mozambique]; three remained in Ambueno, to go to Banda to be laden with pepper; and the five others came to these islands. It may be two years since they left Olanda and Jelanda. This declarant does not know what course they followed, more than as a common sailor who went on board to get his livelihood.

Being asked of what he knows of affairs in Terre-

nate, and of the state in which they are, and of the fort and defenses there – he answered that the artillery was not inside the fort, but in a house intended for the sole purpose of protecting the artillery against the water. The height of the wall is four estados, as he thinks. This declarant thinks that the city where the fort is contains as many as two thousand men of war, armed with arquebuses, muskets, campilans, cuirasses, and helmets. This is his answer and it is the truth, under the penalty imposed upon him who testifies falsely; and he has signed this with his name. [Signature is lacking.]

THE SANGLEY INSURRECTION OF 1603

True relation of the Sangley insurrection in the Filipinas, and the miraculous punishment of their rebellion; and other events of the islands: written to these kingdoms by a soldier who is in those islands, and abridged by Miguel Rodriguez Maldonado.[18]

[*Marginal note at beginning of MS.*: "Chinese Sangleys who remained in this island to enjoy the liberty of the gospel, many of whom afterward failed in their duty."]

On September 26 of the former year 603, it was reported in this city of Manila that a negress had declared that on St. Francis's day there would be a great fire and much bloodshed. Investigations were made in regard to her statement, and the time passed until Friday, October 3, of the said year, the eve of St. Francis. In the afternoon, Don Luys de las Marinas sent to Governor Don Pedro de Acuña to ask for thirty soldiers, as he perceived that the Sangleys living in Tondo and Minondo, where he usually lived, were in rebellion. He had learned that a band numbering three hundred had assembled, mostly

[18] At the end of this pamphlet is the imprint, showing that permission to print it was given to Clemente Hidalgo on May 9, 1606; and that it was printed by him in the same year, at Sevilla. It was sold at the establishments of Melchor Gonçalez and Rafael Charte.

gardeners; and, although he wished to reconnoiter them, he did not dare to, because of the few men that he had. The messenger reached Don Pedro de Acuña, and a little later came a Christian Sangley, one Baristilla, then governor of the Sangleys, both Christian and pagan. He craftily informed Don Pedro de Acuña of the news, and was heartily thanked, as the matter was not understood. The Spaniards immediately called a council of war, where it was resolved to send the help asked by Don Luys de las Marinas. That same day the reënforcement left, and all the companies were assembled with the utmost silence, in the guard-room, and were given their orders. Some of the inhabitants were ordered to be on their guard, and to sound the alarm if they perceived any extraordinary excitement. Accordingly, it happened that the alarm was sounded very suddenly, between one and two o'clock that night; they had been obliged to give it because of a fire that they saw near the city. There was a great commotion, as there were so few inhabitants in the country. Every man hastened to his banner, and all went to the guard-room, where they were ordered to take their stations. Having manned the walls, and keeping on the alert, it was discovered that the fire was in certain summer-houses, where Captain Estevan de Marquina was living with his children and wife. A troop of four thousand Sangleys went to this house, and killed him and his wife, four children, and twenty slaves, with great cruelty, although he defended himself as a good soldier and Spaniard. He had confessed that afternoon, for it was the jubilee of St. Francis. Only one little girl, his daughter, escaped from his house, whom a slave carried out in

his arms, although she was badly wounded and burned. Having inflicted this damage, the Sangleys invested another house near by, where the archdean, Francisco Gomez de Arellano, was living, as well as the father-commissary of the Holy Office, and Father Fernando de los Reyes. The Sangleys were very determined to kill those men, but they, hearing the noise, fired two loaded arquebuses. When the enemy perceived that they were firing arquebuses, imagining that they had many of them, they passed by, and at one-half legua reached a village called Quiapo. There they set a large fire, and then immediately extinguished it. Half an hour later they built a larger fire, which lasted a longer time. This was a signal for the Sangleys in the Parián to assault the city, and take it. Although the Sangleys of the Parián saw the fire, they did not then dare to attack the city; for they were divided into factions, as the wealthy merchants did not wish to risk their property. But as those who had little to lose were in the great majority, they forced them to attack, and calling to the mob, they assailed the city.[19] It is said that they saw over the gate opposite the Parián (which they were about to attack) a crucified Christ dripping blood, and at His feet the seraphic father, St. Francis, with face uplifted toward Him. On this account they became so faint-hearted that they were forced to retire, without being observed from the city, as it was night. Those in Quiapo set fire to it and burned it. They killed some natives, whose moans and cries were heard on the city walls. At this juncture day dawned, and it was seen that the enemy were marching to their camp,

[19] In the margin: "The Parián, establishment and residence of the Sangleys, on the other side of the Manila River."

in order to fortify themselves in a chapel called San Francisco del Monte, two leguas from the city. There they established themselves, and fortified a stronghold built of stakes filled in well with earth, to a man's height, and furnished with two ditches of fresh water. It seemed suitable for twenty thousand men, and had very skilfully laid-out streets. This means that more than two hundred Sangleys were building it for more than a month, but with so great quietness that it was never known; for it was a district little frequented by Spaniards, as it was swampy. The men began to gather there again, so that at noon on Saturday, the fourth of October, the enemy had more than ten thousand men in camp. On that day the Christian Sangleys of Tondo and Minondo rose. When Don Luys de las Marinas saw this, and the help that he was awaiting having arrived, he attacked them with great spirit and killed many of them. But as he perceived that his men were about to be attacked by a great number of people, he requested the governor to send him a second reënforcement quickly. The governor hesitating as to whom to send, Captain Don Tomas Bravo de Acuña, his nephew, begged to be assigned to this task, and to take his company, numbering seventy good soldiers – musketeers and arquebusiers, a picked body of men. Besides this almost all the soldiers of the country offered to go with him, as it was an expedition of so great justice and honor. The governor was urgent in ordering that no others than Don Tomas and his company should go. But he could not help it, and accordingly the following persons went on the expedition.

[Here follows a list of the principal officers who accompanied the governor's nephew. They contained

such names as Captain Juan de la Isla, Captain Villafaña, Captain Cebrian de Madrid, and Pedro de Benavides, besides a number of citizens who are unnamed.]

They came in sight of the enemy on this day, Saturday, and having joined Don Luys de las Marinas in Tondo and General Juan de Alcega, they attacked the enemy. The latter were in three squadrons, of forty companies of one hundred and eighty men apiece; and most of them were ambushed with their colonel. Our men were not dismayed one whit by this; on the contrary, they were animated by their justice in the matter and by Spanish spirit. They made so furious an attack that they forced the enemy to retire very quickly. Eager for victory, our men went pressing on after them, so that, when they saw the trickery of the enemy's retreat and wished to do the same, they were unable to – on the one hand, because they had entered a swamp, and were up to their knees in the bog; and on the other, because the enemy had surrounded them, and they were unable to use their arquebuses and other weapons. Thus they were all killed with clubs and cutlasses, and only four escaped, who had retreated when they saw the multitude of the enemy. This event was indeed one of lamentation and grief, and news of it immediately spread all over the country, whereat great grief was felt. However, the truth was not known with certainty for a week, in accordance with the governor's command, in order not to cause so great pain suddenly. The enemy sought shelter in their camp, whither they took the heads of our men strung on some bejucos. The three principal ones – namely, those of good Don Luis de las Marinas, General Juan

de Alcega, and Captain Don Tomas – were placed above the gates of their camp, and they made great merriment, while waiting the night. Then they took the heads of the others, and carried them to the Parián, opposite the city. There many revolted with them, but more than one thousand eight hundred Sangleys remained in the Parián – mostly merchants and mechanics – who cautiously wished to be on their guard, in order that, if those of their nation should gain the land, they might join these; but if the Spaniards should obtain the victory, they would say that they were guiltless in the insurrection. On Sunday, and until noon of the following Monday, the governor, accompanied by all the Audiencia, visited the Parián, where he gave what orders seemed advisable. The Sangley merchants told them that they were friendly to the Castilians, and that his Lordship should decide what he would command to be done with them. The governor answered to this that they should place their property within the city, and that a location would be assigned them where they would be safe under their guards. The Sangleys did not wish to accede to this, but placed a great amount of property in the city. The governor, seeing that they did not wish to enter, ordered each one to be given a certificate granting him life; and had them told that he who did not have one of these would be regarded as one who had come from the enemy's camp. After this resolution the governor and Audiencia left the Parián on Monday at noon. On the morning of that day, some Spaniards and four hundred Japanese had left the city, at the governor's orders, to attack the enemy. They did so and killed more than fifteen hundred men, and burned all their food. This

obliged them to break camp and to return toward the city, marching in three squadrons, numbering fifteen hundred men. Every moment they were joined by bands of two hundred and three hundred. They assembled in a town called Dilao, situated about three musket-shots from the city, at twelve o'clock in the morning. They united all their forces, and carried on operations from a very strong large stone house, which was the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Candelaría. Two days before, her image had been carried into the city in most solemn procession. On that day it rained heavily, and as those in the houses were fearful lest the enemy would set fire to their dwellings, they had removed the nipa[20] with which they were covered. In the houses built of stone and tile there was not standing-room, as all or most of the people gathered there, both women and children, and those incapable of bearing arms. All was confusion and lamentation, because of this, and since more than sixteen hundred Sangleys were in sight of the city. Most of the people distributed themselves along that part of the wall; and in the cavaliers and ravelins were mounted pieces of artillery. Until now no resolution had been taken whether to put to the sword those Sangleys who remained in the Parián, or to set the Parián afire, or to let the people benefit from the sack of it, which was worth more than eighty thousand pesos. However there was no opportunity for this, as the enemy's camp was so near, that now those Sangleys in the chapel were communicating with and going to those in the Parián, and those in the Parián to the chapel. Consequently it was resolved to burn

[20] The leaves of a species of palm (*Nipa fruticans*), used as thatch to cover houses.

it. This was done with great haste, for Divine justice was apparently showing that such sins as were committed there were deserving of such a penalty. When the Sangleys who had remained in the Parián perceived that it was burning, they packed up as much of their possessions as possible and went to the other side of the river, where stood the residences of the wealthy merchants. That afternoon a council of war was held in the enemy's camp. They determined to send late that night Sangleys in pairs to the walls, to ascertain whether we had any artillery, and whether all the people manning the walls were Spaniards; for they thought that this was not possible, unless we had brought the images of the saints which were in the church. They did not think wrong, either way, for they were a thousand holy religious, who had laid aside their holy habits for such an occasion, and they were encouraging all with holy words and valorous deeds, and now with musket, now with arquebus, pike, or spear, and sword and buckler, were standing as sentries and helping on the walls day and night. The enemy began to make grimaces and gestures within musket-range, making obeisances, and doing other things worthy of their shamelessness. In reply, they remained there as if born there, so that of the many Sangleys who came, it was found that only one escaped, and that all were killed with the balls fired at them from the walls; for both day and night, no one took his eyes from the enemy, who went retreating to the river in the midst of his camp, for the other side of it was defended by a wall, and that precaution was not a bad one, if it had availed anything. Thursday morning, on the seventh of the said month, the governor and council of war de-

termined to attack the enemy. Between eight and nine o'clock, one hundred and fifty Spanish arquebusiers and five hundred Japanese left the city, under command of Sargento-mayor Gallinato, who was accompanied by other captains. Attacking with greater spirit than concert, the Japanese entered in the vanguard, and the Spaniards in the rear, and assaulted the Sangleys. They gained the gate of the river, and the chapel, where the camp was situated. They killed five hundred men, besides wounding many others. They gained possession of the enemy's flags. Then the Sangleys, perceiving that the Spaniards were becoming greedy, attacked them on both sides with more than fourten hundred men — and so vigorously, that the Spaniards were compelled to retire, in spite of their disinclination, when they saw the Japanese retreating as rapidly as possible. Consequently they were forced to turn and retreat to the city, and to lose what had been gained. The enemy with loud cries went to attack in their course the gates of the city and the lowest and weakest part of its wall. All the army hastened to that side, to the assistance of those on the walls. They kept their matches ready, and, with each pikeman between two arquebusiers, Sargento-mayor Gallinato retreated to the city. As soon as he was in safety, the artillery began to play, and gave the enemy a shower that softened their fury, and compelled them to halt upon recognizing their danger. Sargento-mayor Gallinato, encouraging his men, attacked anew, issuing with his men by the lower gate, and the city was very joyful on that account. As soon as they had cleared the country, they halted, in order that the same thing might not again happen as before. Had they not been near the city

walls, and had not Sargento-mayor Gallinato with only ten soldiers defended the bridge with great spirit, they would all have been killed. After this Gallinato sent to the governor asking for orders, for the men were fatigued and the sun extremely hot, while he was badly used by two wounds with stakes that he had received. Such are the weapons used by the Sangleys; and they first wound with the point like a spear and then draw it through from behind, with so much force that they cut a man all to pieces. The governor ordered them to retire, and they did so accordingly. Having informed the governor of what had happened, a spark fell into a flask full of powder and burned three people. From that another spark fell into a jar full of powder and burned five more soldiers. And had not the sargento-mayor been so agile, it would have injured him. Meanwhile those in the Parián were not rejoicing when they saw that, the day before, half of the Parián had been burned. As men determined to conquer or die they came that night in two machines that they had made with so great skill that one side was low and the other high so that they overtopped the walls of the city; thus they could with very little trouble throw thirty men into the city each time when they attacked. Behind these machines came a great throng of Sangleys, of whom the fury of the artillery killed a great number. At the same time the artillery broke up the machines. At this juncture reënforcements of one thousand men entered the city – Pampanga Indians, comprising arquebusiers and pikemen. They sallied out with some Spaniards and attacked the enemy. They killed more than a thousand of them and set fire to the rest of the Parián. In the fire three hundred of the most

important and richest merchants were burned. These, in order not to die at the hands of our men, hanged themselves and burned themselves alive with their belongings. The Japanese, seeing that the Pampanga Indians were destroying and sacking the Parián with great fury, gradually joined them. Together they killed all the Chinese whom they met, and went away, this man with a chest, this one with a pair of breeches, [and others with] bags filled with silks and rich articles. But no Spaniard had any leave to take part in the sack. However, some who took part in it, at all hazards, profited very much from the enemy. The sack lasted all the afternoon and part of the night. The enemy, upon seeing the Parián burned in every part, and their goods lost, were discouraged. Having held a council that night, they very silently went to a village called San Pablo. They were pursued by Don Luys de Velasco with five hundred Spaniards and one thousand Indians, by order of Governor Don Pedro de Acuña, before they reached San Pablo. The Sangleys killed of our men six Spaniards and four Japanese, but it cost them fifteen hundred of their men. So great was their number, and the confusion among all of them, that our men did not hesitate to kill as many of them as they met on the road and elsewhere. The governor immediately sent word to his Majesty's villages and ordered them not to spare any, but to put to the sword whomsoever they found. Of all the Chinese, except thirty who were taken to the city – and who died Christians, to all appearances, for they asked for the water of holy baptism – no others are known to have taken the road to salvation, out of more than twenty thousand who were infidels. The governor,

having seen that they were killing all the Sangleys in the islands, ordered, for just reasons, that none of those coming to the city should be killed. As soon as this news was given out, about four hundred came. Had they been ten thousand, they would have been received, for they were needed in the city. They all accused Bautistilla, a Christian, who, as above stated, was their governor, saying that he was the cause of the insurrection, and that he had been made king of all the country. They also accused Miguel Onte and Alonso Sagoyo – both Christian Sangleys, and the chiefest men. Having taken their depositions, and through the sufficient proof that was furnished, since all blamed Bautistilla, the latter was condemned to be hanged and quartered, and his head set in the Parián. He was declared a traitor, and his property confiscated for his Majesty. His houses were razed and their sites sown with salt. This sentence proceeded from the royal Audiencia, and was executed on the eleventh of the month of October. At the foot of the scaffold he said that that death was not due him for his conduct, and that he had always been a loyal vassal of his Majesty; and that God knew what was in his breast, and the thoughts of his heart. He died with the marks of a good Christian. Then on the fifteenth day of the said month, the two Christian Sangleys were executed. They were condemned by the sargento-mayor and master-of-camp. One of them, in order to save himself, declared that the mandarins had come with the cunning purpose of spying out the land, and that the insurrection had been by their orders. He said that they were coming soon to attack the city, and that the Spaniards should not neglect to act very carefully. Accordingly the governor set

about taking all necessary measures. He and the sargento-mayor worked in a way wonderful to behold. May God strengthen their hands! Four days later, when the enemy had fortified themselves quite strongly in San Pablo, Captain Don Luys de Velasco went out at the head of sixty Spaniards. Having reached the *calaço*, he attacked so spiritedly that the Sangleys retreated. He entered the camp of the enemy in his eagerness, whereupon, uttering loud cries, they returned in a large mob to attack him, so that it cost him his life and those of four soldiers. The others, on seeing their captain killed, retreated and went down the mountain. This news reached the city, whereupon Sargento-mayor Ascoeta went out with 220 Spanish arquebusiers, 400 Japanese, 2,000 Pampanga Indians (of whom 1,500 were arquebusiers and musketeers, and the others were armed with spears, swords and arrows), 200 Monos,[21] and 300 blacks, who came as friends to take part in this war. After having gone only seven leguas, they met the enemy, and having rested four days, they formed their camp. After having found where the enemy could retreat, and holding them at every point, they attacked the Sangleys, of whom they killed more than four hundred. Their master-of-camp retreated to a little elevation near by, after defending himself with great courage. Our men rested until morning of the next day, when they went to give them the "Santiago," and killed fourteen hundred. Three hundred fled, and hid in the thickets and woods thereabout. Our men fortified themselves with the food that the enemy had there. On the morning of the following day they went in pursuit of the

[21] Probably a misprint for Moros.

three hundred who had hidden and attacked them, and not one of them was left alive. This victory was obtained without the death of more than twelve Christian Indians. Our camp rested for three days, and on the fourth began to march to another village, on the seashore, called Batangas. There they found a troop of twenty-five hundred hostile Sangleys with ships and boats, with the intention of going to their own country. After five days' march our leader sighted the enemy, whereupon he ordered a halt and drew up his men. On the morning of the next day he gave battle with great fury, and killed one thousand one hundred and two Sangleys. The rest, badly crippled, sought refuge in the mountains in the interior. The Spaniards did not go in pursuit of them, for they were very tired after their six hours of fighting, while some were wounded. Consequently Sargento-mayor Ascoeta sent an Indian chief, one Don Ventura de Mendoça, with two hundred Pampanga Indians, to pursue them. In a few days all the Sangleys were killed. After this good result and victory the sargento-mayor retired with his camp, without losing a man outside of twelve Indians and one Japanese, while seventeen Spaniards were wounded. The most dangerously wounded was the captain of the guard, Martin de Herrera, who was wounded with two spear-thrusts through the thighs. He has proved himself a very honorable and gallant soldier on all occasions. The sargento-mayor immediately sent a messenger to the governor, to tell him of the victory. This was on the twelfth of November, at eleven o'clock on St. Martin's day. After the arrival of this news another piece of news, of no less importance to this country, was received, namely that the

king of Mindanao wishes peace with us. As security he sent his son and his nephew as hostages, and with them all the Christians captive in his land. He offered to help the governor as a true friend. It is a notable thing that even the animals have tried to show the mortal hate that ought to be extended toward this canaille. Many thanks have been and are given to our Lord for all. Hence the most holy sacrament has been exposed for forty days. Every monastery has observed its octave with great solemnity and processions, accompanied ever by their good mother [*i.e.,* the Virgin] and the propitious St. Francis, by whose help we have obtained the victory on all occasions offered us. The plans of the Sangleys were as follows. On the day of St. Francis, both workmen and merchants were to enter as usual into the city, some of the merchants with shoes and others with clothes. The barber was to attend to his duties. Then with four Sangleys in each house, they were to put all the Spaniards to the sword, reserving the Spanish women. These they had already distributed, the young girls for their enjoyment and the old women to serve in the house. For this purpose each of them was to carry a catan, or sort of cutlass, under their long robes. Besides this they had ordered a body of five hundred to assemble, who were to assault the monastery of St. Francis, and leave no one alive there. Doubtless they would have killed all according to this plan, if God our Lord had not been pleased, in His divine mercy, to disclose it, the day before. Although there had been some rumors of the insurrection nine days before, the Spaniards would never believe it; for the life of the Spaniard is all confidence, and he thinks no one can dare

to do such things. The cause of the enemy dividing into so many troops was the factions among them, so that out of the more than 22,00[0] Sangleys in all these islands, not 800 have survived.[22] On the twenty-fourth of October they began to dig the trench about the city wall, at which three hundred men, all Sangleys, worked. The one thousand Moros were engaged in other works, not only on the fort and in the new retreat, but on the wall and the supplies for it. The ditch is seventy feet wide and two estados deep. As soon as the war began, three hundred Sangley Christians who lived in Tondo and Minondo embarked in some small boats with their wives and children, and went down the river to the governor, to whom they said that they had no wish to revolt. These were sent away safely, and returned to their houses. The Spaniards are living with great caution toward them, for they are treacherous and cunning in what they do. They exercise their trades in this city. Each of them is considered as well employed, in exchange for which they must not commit offenses as in the past, which were great and numerous. On the fourteenth of November, Sargento-mayor Ascoeta entered this city, marching in good order with his camp, both Spaniards, and the Pampanga Indians and Japanese. They brought in the banners won from the enemy. They were very well received by the governor and Audiencia, and by all the city. Don Pedro showered a thousand compliments on all the Pampanga captains for their good services. They were much pleased at this, and offered their persons, lives, and possessions to the service of his Majesty.

[22] Cf. La Concepción's account of this insurrection, in *Hist. de Philippinas*, iv, pp. 52-64.

The Japanese and Pampangas had a share in all the wealth of the booty, and it was large, for it consisted mainly of gold, silver, reals, and pearls.

I do not mention the stratagems of war, the instructions, and the orders throughout the course of it, in order not to prove wearisome, and, moreover, to leave them for one who can write them in a better style. Only, as an eye-witness, I affirm what I have here told, and that all in general have behaved themselves very well as honorable soldiers (especially the leaders), both of the ecclesiastics and of the laymen; and that in this, as in other matters, our Lord has shown us a thousand favors.

Among the enemy's flags were two that contained characters in the Sangley language, which, translated into our Castilian vernacular, read as follows:

"The leader and general of the kingdom of España . . .[23] so that all the Chinese take part together in this affair and obey us by destroying root and branch these hostile robbers, whom we have against our will, both Castilians and Japanese. We the Sangleys swear that after the conquest of this city we shall share the lands, even to the very herbs, with equal shares, as brothers." That which gave the traitor Bautistilla more courage in undertaking so great a treason was a stratagem and subtilty which he employed to know those on his side. This was to order each Sangley to bring a needle and deliver it into his hand. This they did, and he put the needles in a little box. He thus ascertained that twenty-two thousand one hundred and fifty Sangley Indians could gather in Manila on the last of November, the day of St. Andrew, patron

[23] At this point, in the printed original, follow the words *tribuleco llamadotin* – evidently some typographical error.

of this country. He had determined and ordered that the insurrection be made on that day both in this city and in the other districts of these islands. But upon seeing the governor raising the wall and taking other precautions, because of the many rumors about the mandarins (who had departed to their own country, and which the governor did not believe), the traitor determined to make the attempt on the day of St. Francis, since our Lord permitted it thus for our welfare. Blessed be He forever! Amen!

On the tenth of December, Captain Marcos de la Cueva left this city as ambassador to the kingdom of China, accompanied by one hundred and forty Spaniards and two friars, in order to inform the eunuch who is the viceroy at Canton of the above events. Many thought that he ought not to go, for if the matter were learned there, and war-vessels were to come, then the island would be supplied with men to be able to receive them in the same manner; and if they came for peace they would be received in peace. In the latter case they were to be informed of the truth of the matter, to which the Christian law binds us, and told that we did not intend to take their possessions, or refuse to pay them what was owing them. Nevertheless, he went, ordered to do the contrary by the Council. May God direct everything for His holy service.

On the seventeenth of February of 604, the said ambassador, Marcos de la Cueva, put back to port on account of a storm that struck him, which caused his vessel to spring a leak. He was again sent out in another and very good vessel with one hundred and fifty picked soldiers, under the leadership of Captain Cueva, a very honorable and brave soldier. He left

on Thursday, the twenty-fifth of the said month, in the ship "Santiaguillo," which was quite well equipped for whatever should happen – a very necessary thing. He arrived at the trading-post where there are Portuguese who trade with the Chinese, and delivered his letters to them, in order that they might be given to the eunuch. For the period while he stayed there, no reply was received to the letters, but he was put off with words; whereupon, growing impatient, he returned to Manila, leaving affairs in that condition. With the vessels that came from China this year of 605 to this city, the eunuch sent three letters – one to the governor, another to the Audiencia, and the third to the archbishop. All were similar. The eunuch stated that he had received the letters taken by the ambassador. The people who had been killed were very properly killed, as they were an abandoned people. By the information that he had received from some Sangleys he learned that many Sangleys had been condemned to the galleys. He asked for them in his letters since they were still living, asking that they be sent with the property that had been taken from them. If not, then he would go there with a war-fleet of one hundred armed ships and conquer their land, and give the same to others who better merited it.[24] The governor, with the advice of the others, answered this letter to the effect that he refused to send the Sangleys; and that before the one hundred armed ships reached here, he would go to meet them with five hundred, for he would rejoice to put an end to such canaille, and had enough men to do it. This

[24] This letter will be found in VOL. XIII, pp. 287-291; Morga also gives it in his *Sucesos* (which will be presented in our VOLS. XV and XVI).

letter was given to a Sangley, one Juan de San, a prominent man among them, and very wealthy, who had lived many years among us, that he might give it to the eunuch. This man and others who came in this year of 605 brought news that in [the province of] Canton, three hundred leguas in the interior, a river overflowed so that it drowned two hundred thousand Sangley Indians, and much property was lost. It was also said that earthquakes had occurred, two hundred leguas in the interior, and as far as Canton, which lasted for two months. They were so terrific that they shook the very strong palaces, while other houses and mosques were overthrown. This misfortune and plague has been by the permission of heaven. At another part, the Japanese of Great Corria have revolted, and are warring with these Chinese, so that four hundred thousand of them have banded against the latter, by which the Chinese are receiving great injury.[25] Thus, by these and other things, the Chinese are being consumed and finished, although much time is needed for it. May God be mindful of us, as He is able, and ever give us His protection.

[A list of the chief Spanish inhabitants of Manila who were killed during the Chinese insurrection follows. It contains such well-known names as Luyz Perez de las Marinas, Juan de Alcega, Juan de la Peña, Captain Villafaña, Juan de Ybarra, Marcos Diaz, Luys de Velasco, Estevan de Marquina, Tomás Bravo de Acuña, besides many others, both

[25] Korea had been conquered by the Japanese in 1592, but soon afterward was partially regained by the Chinese (VOL. VIII, pp. 260-262; IX, pp. 36, 44, 46). The death of the Japanese ruler Hideyoshi (1598), and the consequent recall of the Japanese troops, left affairs between the three countries unsettled; finally Iyeyasu, ruler of Japan, made peace with Korea and China, in 1605.

officers and men, among them a number of friars.[28]]

[28] Another account of this insurrection is given by Gregorio Lopez, S.J., in a letter dated April, 1604; it is substantially the same as those already presented in this series, but Lopez relates in much fuller detail the final pursuit of the Sangleys. He also states that the Chinese Juan Bautista de Bera (Vera), whose heathen name was Hincan, had lived in Manila since the time of Limahon; and that in the conflict there were twenty stalwart Sangleys to each Spaniard. He enumerates the Spanish citizens slain by the Sangleys, mentioning the place where each died. A copy of this letter is contained in the Ventura del Acro MSS. (Ayer library) – for account of which collection see VOL. VI, pp. 231, 232 – in vol. i, pp. 121-272; it is accompanied by the statement that the original MS. is in the Real Academía de la Historia, Madrid – its press-mark, "Jesuitas, Filipinas; legajo no. 7."

LETTER FROM THE AUDIENCIA TO FELIPE III

Sire:

By the death of Don Pedro de Acuña, governor of these islands, who died on Saturday, June 24, this Audiencia succeeds to their government. In it has been considered a new order which your Majesty commands to be followed in sending out the merchant ships that are to go from these islands to Nueva España. Since those which are to go this year are already laded, and must set sail within three or four days, it has not been possible to put your Majesty's commands into execution for the present year. Although this city has prayed for this new order and for the decrees which have been granted in pursuance of it, yet on account of the many fires which have occurred in this city in recent years, the wars, the forced return of some ships, and the loss of others, by which a great amount of property has been lost, the inhabitants of these islands are burdened with heavy afflictions and necessities, which render them unable to pay the new duties imposed by the royal command. Although these necessities are well known, the new order of your Majesty will be followed next year, in spite of the fact that some details involve much difficulty, and that some sections might well be moder-

ated and limited in the form in which each one is stated. This matter is of importance to your Majesty's royal service, and to the welfare of the inhabitants of these islands.

In the first section your Majesty commands that only the inhabitants of these islands and no others may ship the merchandise which is to be transported to Nueva España, and that the amount invested therein shall not exceed two hundred and fifty thousand pesos of eight reals, as was previously determined by other orders and decrees; while the returns from this shall not exceed, in principal and profit, five hundred thousand pesos. As for this section, it deserves serious consideration that after the expenses of sending out a cargo – including the fees to be paid here and in Nueva España, which amount to thirty per cent in all, with the addition which the new decree imposes – it is impossible to recover from five hundred thousand pesos the principal and the [present] profits on the investment of the said two hundred and fifty thousand pesos which are granted by this permission. To reach this amount, it is considered necessary that at least three hundred and fifty thousand pesos be spent on the cargo. In addition to the charges referred to, many expenses fall upon the inhabitants of this city for the maintenance and provision of their houses, and thus are consumed and expended a part of the profits made on the investments which they make here. If your Majesty were pleased to permit that the amount of these investments might be at least three hundred thousand pesos, wherewith all expenses might be paid, then the permission to bring back five hundred thousand might well stand. Until it is known what decision will be reached on

this point, your Majesty's commands shall be fulfilled. Care will be taken that the investment shall not reach three hundred thousand, or pass far beyond two hundred and fifty thousand. It should also be considered that when his Majesty, the sovereign of the realm, who is now in heaven, granted this permission, it was at a time when these islands were beginning to be settled. Then there were no inhabitants who could invest so great a sum, while now there are many. They do not send as much as they might lade in the vessel; and if this condition of affairs continues to increase, there is no other means of support than this trade, nor does the country produce those means. If it shall diminish, the people who come to live in these islands will likewise become fewer in number. If it should increase somewhat beyond the new grant, so many more people will come to the colony here. This population, however great it is, is all very necessary, in view of the way in which this country consumes the whole of it, no matter how many come.

The second section provides that four freight ships should be built, each one of two hundred toneladas; and that two of them shall make the voyage every year, very early, while the other two lie in port, ready for the following year. In this matter your Majesty's will shall be fulfilled, and the first ships that shall be built will be of this tonnage.

The third section provides that there shall be only one commander for the said two ships, with a lieutenant who shall be second in command. The intention of this section is to avoid the great expense which has previously been incurred in this voyage. The section also provides that each vessel may carry a

military captain in addition to the master, with as many as fifty effective and useful soldiers on each ship, who shall receive pay. They may also have the necessary seamen, a certificated pilot, and an adjutant. If this section is to be fulfilled in this form, then, instead of avoiding many expenses, it will be the means of increasing again many others which are much greater. Such will be the result if fifty soldiers sail in each vessel, since because of the requirement that the capacity of the vessels shall be so small, they cannot carry so great a number of people. The voyage is so long that five to seven months are spent in it, and the seasons are very severe. Many people die at sea; and it is necessary to carry so many sailors and ship-boys that a great amount of provisions must be taken for them and the other men. For this reason the late governor of these islands kept down the number of permissions to go hence to Nueva España to a very small number. He granted them so seldom that he did not allow the tenth part of those who asked for them to go. Yet in spite of all this, the commanders of the vessels were obliged, on account of the great amount of space occupied by the necessary ship stores, to send on shore, before leaving these islands, some of the few passengers who had received official permission. In the despatch of the ships this very year, our experience is of the same sort. There had returned from the expedition to Maluco many captains, ensigns, and soldiers detained on shipboard, whom it is necessary to send back again to España. It was found very difficult to put more than thirty soldiers on a ship of the capacity of four hundred toneladas, although its cargo amounted to no more than three hundred and fifty. As for this number of

fifty soldiers voyaging [in one ship], the regulation cannot be carried into effect. If it were to be done, it could only be at the risk that most of the men on board the ship should perish, while all would travel in great discomfort. Further, at the time when the ships are sent out, it would be hard to find in the city two hundred soldiers having the qualifications necessary for them to be useful in any battle. It would be a serious evil for this garrison to be left with so small a number of people. It is considered as beyond doubt that those who go away from here will not return again to this city; this will also cause others to abandon the idea of coming here. Hence it seems that on this point it is not desirable to make any innovation upon that which has hitherto been done, as that would be of little advantage, and cause much expense. When the ships return to these islands they are of much use in defense if they come well supplied with arms and ammunition, with a hundred soldiers in each as reënforcements for the troops in these islands. As for the regulation that the officials who are to go on these ships are to be appointed here, and that they shall be chosen from among the most influential and most honored citizens of these islands, and those best qualified for such posts, and that they shall give bonds and that residencia shall be exacted from them, your Majesty's decrees shall be fulfilled.

As for the fourth section, it provides that the commanders and seconds in command, and the officers of the said ships, shall have in the voyage no trade or commerce, either small or large. As regards the commanders and seconds in command, your Majesty's decrees shall be executed; as for the other officers, we refer to the following section.

The fifth section deals with the salary paid to the commander, being four thousand ducados, while the second in command receives three thousand for each voyage, including the going and the coming. It seems that this might be reduced, and that it would be sufficient to allow the commander three thousand pesos and the second in command two thousand. As for allowing salaries and regular pay to the captains, soldiers, seamen, and gunners who sail in the said ships with the regulation that they shall have no trade or commerce, it seems, with reference to the pay of the captains and soldiers, that for the reasons referred to in the third section these expenses might be avoided. It would be sufficient to give wages to the gunners and seamen, without prohibiting them to trade; for the amount of their trade is very small, and with the permission to take two bales of cargo granted to each of the seamen and gunners the whole of their small capital would be expended. Under these circumstances, if the ship were to be in any peril from storm they would obey commands with greater zeal and willingness because of their share in the treasure of the ship. Without such bait as this, which induces many seamen to come to these islands, without doing any harm to the residents, it would be difficult to find anyone willing to come here. If this permission were taken away, the wages alone would not be sufficient to support the men.

The sixth section provides that only so many officers shall be appointed as may be needed, that no one shall go as a gunner who is not one in fact, and that only one gunner shall go for every piece of artillery carried on the said vessels. In this matter your Majesty's commands shall be obeyed.

The seventh section provides that an inspector and an accountant shall go on the said ships to take the accounts and inventory of all the cargo. It directs that they shall keep books, in which they shall enter the merchandise shipped from these islands and that which comes back on the return voyage. It would seem that this expense also might be avoided, since this account and inventory are taken by the royal officials of these islands, and also by the royal officials of the port of Acapulco. By their account it is possible to know the cargo which goes there, and what returns. From here is sent to the viceroy of Nueva España a statement in which is contained the amount of the merchandise sent in the cargo, and the names of the consignors, in order that in conformity therewith license may be given, to the citizens who have shipped the goods, for sending back the money which their merchandise shall have yielded. In this way the account and inventory required by your Majesty are obtained, since only the inhabitants of these islands send consignments, and the proceeds thereof are returned to them and no others.

The eighth section provides that the vessels shall be no more heavily laden than they ought to be, and that room be left in them for everything that is necessary for the men that sail in them. This section also provides that sufficient provisions shall be carried for this long voyage, so that the men may not perish for lack of food. This section also decrees that the vessels shall not be overladen and thus embarrassed and endangered; but that they shall be laden so as to be buoyant, and able to meet dangers from storms and enemies. It is also provided that in lading the vessels a proper division of the space should be

made. In all these matters your Majesty's will shall be carried out.

The ninth section decrees that the freight charges to be paid on cargoes in the aforesaid vessels, for the voyages both going and coming, shall be determined and regulated in proportion to the expenses of the voyage, no more being charged than is necessary to meet them without any supply being required for this purpose from your Majesty's treasury. The section provides that for these expenses the duties shall be increased – by two per cent on the goods carried in the ships, and another two per cent on the money sent to these islands as proceeds from the shipment. It provides that this fund shall be put in a chest apart, and kept in this city, to meet the expenses of the said ships and the men in them. This sum is to be kept together with the freight charges collected. The contents of this section require careful consideration. When the ships return to these islands, they come laden with the forces intended for this military district and garrison, and artillery, arms, and ammunition; and with the religious, and the colonists who come to settle in these islands, in addition to other things required for the service of your Majesty. Although they do indeed bring the money for the citizens of this city, they at the same time bring much required for the reënforcement of the military establishments here. If these freights are to be apportioned as your Majesty commands, there will be a large amount which might fall upon your royal treasury. Hence it seems that, if your Majesty should be pleased, it would be well for the present not to change the custom which has hitherto been followed; and that only to assist the expenditures

which your Majesty incurs in sending out these vessels should the citizens of these islands be charged two per cent on the merchandise which they ship, and two per cent more for the money sent them in return. For, although it is said on the other side that the profits are large, they commonly are not; while the freight, fees, and duties are very great. From these profits there is paid to your Majesty in this city five per cent, including the new increase, and in Nueva España sixteen per cent; while the expenses of the ships which had to put back to port, and the goods lost in those which have been wrecked since the year one thousand six hundred, come to more than a million. It will take many years for the profits to make up for such a loss. May God keep the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty. Manila, July 6, 1606.

The licentiate TELLES DE ALMAÇAN
The licentiate ANDRES DE ALCAREZ
The licentiate JUAN MANUEL DE LA VEGA

LETTER FROM THE FISCAL TO FELIPE III

Sire:

Last year, sixteen hundred and five, during which I began to serve your Majesty as fiscal of this Audiencia, and as protector of the natives [27] of these islands by appointment of the Audiencia, I sent a statement of everything of importance which within the short time of my service I was able to discover. Since that time I have considered with care and attention the things of greatest consequence to your royal service, and have found that I ought to give your Majesty an account and statement of the condition in which I found affairs, and that in which they are at present.

I reported to your Majesty the uprising of the

[27] *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. vi, tit. vi, ley viii, contains the following law in regard to the appointment of the protector of the Indians: "The bishops of Filipinas were charged by us with the protection and defense of those Indians. Having seen that they cannot attend to the importunity, and judicial acts and investigations, which require personal presence, we order the president-governors to appoint a protector and defender, and to assign him a competent salary from the taxes of the Indians, proportioned among those which shall be assigned to our royal crown and to private persons, without touching our royal treasury, which proceeds from other kinds [of taxes]. We declare that it is not our intention by this to deprive the bishops of their superintendence and protection of the Indians in general." (Felipe II, Madrid, January 17, 1593, in a clause of a letter).

Sangleys in the year sixteen hundred and three, leaving military matters to the official reports which I knew were sent. I reported to your Majesty that it was well to consider with care what was necessary to be done for the good government and protection of this kingdom. Afterward I saw that, just as if the said uprising had not occurred, permission for Sangleys to remain in this city continued to be given. They were allowed to have habitations, dwellings, and shops – a permission which has caused much comment and discussion. The reason is that the Audiencia took upon itself the administration of this matter, assigning it year by year in turn to each auditor. With the course of time the permission has been extended, not by the will of the auditor alone, but by the decree and direction of the Audiencia itself. The Audiencia granted of its own free will and pleasure, without the assent of the city and its cabildo, permission to the Sangleys to remain. The city and cabildo remonstrated, but the Audiencia granted licenses to as many as it pleased. In the year sixteen hundred and four, there were 457; and in the year sixteen hundred and five they had increased to 1,648, as is shown by the official statement which I enclose. From this it will be seen that during this said year of sixteen hundred and five there came from China 3,977, and that 3,687 returned; so that 290 remained here, making with those of the previous year a total of 747. There actually remained 1,648; hence it is evident that, besides those who were registered, 901 came here. This has been done by granting licenses to many to live and make their abode outside of the city, among the mountains and in other places, where they easily receive those who disembark before the

vessel has come here, or after the ships have set out on their return voyage.

In view of this disadvantage I petitioned the Audiencia that no Sangley may have permission to be absent at any time, especially when the ships are arriving or setting out. Although this demand was so just, they did not take action as I requested; and affairs remain as they were before. Inasmuch as the despatch of the vessels is not yet completed, I do not now make a statement of the evil results which I expect to follow, until I am able to state them with accuracy. All this results from a failure to observe the ordinance of the Audiencia with regard to the number which each ship may carry; for, although the number allowed was limited to two hundred in the largest vessel, one ship of no great size has brought about five hundred, so that this year six thousand five hundred and thirty-three Sangleys have arrived, of which I send a sworn statement. These, added to the almost two thousand of the previous year who remained, make up a great number. This is within two years and a half after so dangerous an uprising, and it promises more danger to follow. Therefore, in order to set this matter right, I reported that since this city and commonwealth could not allow and did not desire the Sangleys to remain, and had remonstrated against it (although it would be for their service), I therefore demanded, since this was necessary for the safety of the kingdom, that not one Sangley should [be allowed to] remain in these islands. I also asked that the number of ships to come from China each year and the number of men to be carried in them might be definitely stated, this number being made as small as possible, and severe penalties being assigned

to anyone who should violate the rules. Although the community requested that what I asked for might be conceded, and the city confirmed what it had previously said (of which an account has already been given to your Majesty), the Audiencia has commanded that this year one thousand five hundred Sangleys shall remain. I fear that many more will stay, since they are scattered in the provinces, in the rural districts, and among the surrounding mountains, from which they could be brought out only with difficulty. The reason for so many Sangleys being brought in the ships every year is, that the penalties are so light and the execution of them is so relaxed. As it is to the advantage of the owners of the ships to get large returns from their vessels, they are not troubled at being obliged to pay the small fine levied on them by the city. In spite of the fact that the city declares that it does not wish Sangleys to remain, they have built many shops on the site of their old residence, named Parián, as will appear from the official statement which I send; and in every one of these live three of four persons, and in some are many. I opposed the building of these shops and caused it to cease, because if they were not under restriction the Parián would become very large. It is now as large as before the uprising. This evil result follows from the fact that your Majesty granted the city the income received from these shops; and many ducados are received for them, as is manifest in the said official statements. To remedy this wrong, it is desirable that your Majesty command the number of shops to be definitely limited, and direct that in one shop one man only may live, who shall have some known oc-

cupation and be a Christian. It would be well also to limit the number of ships which may come and the number of persons that they may carry, commanding that when the number is full no more shall be received into the port, and that no vessel shall be admitted which carries more than the appointed number. It would be well to provide also that if the city exceed these limits, in the number and kind of the shops, the grant allowed for the same be revoked.

When I entered upon the functions of this office, I discovered a serious irregularity in the succession to encomiendas of Indians. Your Majesty commanded that such encomiendas should descend from father to son or daughter, and, in default of children, to the wife of the encomendero, definitely stating that the succession should come to an end there. Yet without attracting the attention of anyone, important as the matter is, the wife has succeeded to her deceased husband, and then after she has married a second time and has then died, the second husband has succeeded the wife, and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus it has come about that nearly all the encomiendas are far from their original assignment, the majority being in the hands of undeserving persons. The result is that it is a marvel if an encomienda is ever vacant; for none has been regarded as vacant unless the possessor has died without being married or without issue. Since this wrong is universal, and is of great importance – affecting, as it does, the common interests of all the islands – I have deemed it proper to advise your Majesty of it, in order that you may ordain that which shall be most to your Majesty's service. This may be carried out by commands given by your Majesty to the governor to declare all encomiendas vacant in which

the rule of succession shall have been transgressed. Then since some of them are in the hands of deserving persons, in spite of the improper way in which they have been obtained, they may be regranted; while many others will remain unassigned and open for granting to soldiers who have served, but who remain in poverty and almost in despair of ever receiving a reward. The only reward in these islands is the encomiendas; and, as they are perpetuated in the way described, one is never vacated except in very unusual circumstances – unusual, that is, for this country. Here, for a woman to be of advanced age is not enough to prevent her marriage, so much is the succession to her encomienda coveted. The reason for failing to institute proceedings against all these people is, that they are in possession; and if proceedings follow the law of Malinas the cases can take no less time than would be consumed if your Majesty were to command them to be declared vacant, as I suggest. As for those which have been vacated during my term of office, I have begun to put a stop to this improper custom, and shall continue to do so until I am informed of your Majesty's commands. It is desirable that these be sent very promptly and clearly, since correction of this evil will be rendered very difficult if there is any uncertainty.

The same illegality occurs in another way: an encomendero dies, and is succeeded by his wife; if she marries and has children, these have succeeded her, and even, when they are married, their wives or husbands succeed them. This is contrary to the statute that the succession shall end with the wife of the first encomendero. For all this your Majesty will make suitable provision.

By a section in a letter from your Majesty to Don Pedro de Acuña, late governor of these islands, your Majesty commands, that the wine for celebrating mass which was provided to religious in charge of the instruction of Indians on private encomiendas shall not be given by the royal exchequer. This decree has caused resentment on the part of those concerned. They instituted legal proceedings against the execution of the command, claiming that the previous usage should prevail, and affirming that the wine is thus furnished in Mexico and Piru. I presented decrees showing that this is a grant made by your Majesty to the religious of those provinces for a limited time; and the Audiencia, on appeal, directed your Majesty's commands to be executed. The encomenderos declare that your Majesty should meet this expense, and are sending documents on the subject. I give this information in order that your Majesty may be assured that this is entirely an act of bounty on your Majesty's part, and that your Majesty has many obligations and expenses on these islands, which must be met; and that since your Majesty gives the wine on the royal encomiendas, they can and should provide it on their own.

Your Majesty has commanded that no offices or places of profit shall be given to those who hold Indians in encomienda. There are some encomiendas so small that they are insufficient as a means of support, and sometimes these are held by persons very well fitted for such offices as are to be granted. It would be well if your Majesty should command that which shall be most to your service on this matter, that no doubt may exist. The fiscal my predecessor, whenever offices were given to such encomenderos, was ac-

customed to begin suit appealing from the governor's appointments; and he likewise appealed and brought suit against some of those to whom the governors made grants, on the ground that they were against decrees and the instructions of the governor. This was a fruitful source of irritation, the governors declaring that the offices are thus granted for the good of your Majesty's service, although it appears that the appointees are making gain of them. Since that which has occurred and that which may occur is of moment, your Majesty will ordain according to your royal pleasure, observing that the governors are subject to residencias, and that it is difficult to bring a lawsuit with reference to every one of their decisions made after this manner, or to undertake to settle the question whether or no such decisions are proper.

This city of Manila is very near the villages of some Indians who support themselves by agriculture. If there are any places unoccupied they use them as sites for dwellings. They make use of the grass to cover their houses and also to cover their fields, for they always keep these covered thus during the time while the crops begin to grow. These Indians have suffered great oppression, for there have been established in the vicinity of this city more than twenty-four cattle-farms. From very small beginnings they have multiplied so greatly that in some there are more than four thousand head, while all of them have more than a thousand. These cattle, on account of their number, spread and wander out of bounds, and do much damage. Finding this wrong in existence when I assumed office, I began some suits to cause the cattle-farms to be abandoned. On one of the farms, which belonged to Captain Pedro de Brito,

near the villages of Çapa, Namayan, and Santana, the Audiencia on appeal decided that he must keep his cattle within bounds; and that such cattle as might be found straying might be killed by the Indians who found them in their fields. Being a wretched race, they dare not do this, and suffer much from this and other causes. There are some persons who charge Indians with having wronged them, and who take the Indians into service that they may work off the damage done. So far is this custom carried that the service is converted into slavery. There is now a great abundance of cattle outside of this district, and so many cattle-farms are not needed. It would be well for your Majesty to command that all of them within three leguas of towns and cultivated areas should be abandoned, in order that this molestation may cease.

The province of Panpanga is twelve leguas hence. It is the most fertile in all the islands, and the inhabitants have done more in your service than have any others. It lies low and is bounded by some mountains which slope down to it. The natives of the mountains are called Zambales. They are a race that live like beasts, without settled habitations; and they are so murderous that their delight is cutting off heads. For this purpose they come down upon this province, and, as its inhabitants are a race entirely devoted to agriculture, they take them unawares, and have wrought and do work great outrages upon them. The effort was made to put a garrison in their country, and some Spanish troops were stationed there. Since the country is rough and mountainous, it is impossible to march in it; and as there is no certain day on which the attacks of the mountaineers can be

anticipated, it is impossible to prevent them. The Panpangans have often asked for permission to destroy these others, by killing or enslaving them; but no decision has been given them in all the years during which the matter has been discussed. The remedy for the evil is easy, for if they be given for a time as slaves to any man who can capture them, this will encourage the making of inroads upon them. This has not been done, because of your Majesty's commands not to enslave any of the inhabitants of this archipelago and island. This would be a temporary slavery, and by it much or all of this evil described would be corrected; and the expense which it causes would be prevented. The same thing happens in the mountains of Yllocos and in other regions, for every day the mountaineers attack and murder members of the tribes at peace – who, as they have no permission to kill them and no hope of making use of them, permit them to return and harass them.

In this matter of slavery there has recently arisen anew a great problem. This is that among these Indians there is a custom that while [in Spanish law] the child follows the womb, among them it likewise follows the father by half. Thus the son of a free mother and a slave father was half slave, like the son of a slave mother and a free father; so there were slaveries of the fourth and eighth part. The former Audiencia, regarding this as absurd, commanded that the rule should no longer be observed, and that the son of a free mother should hereafter be free. This decision, being accepted without difficulty, produced no opposition, and many were in the enjoyment of liberty who had been married as freemen, and were such. But now, in a late case, the Audiencia has decided

that the old custom shall be observed. Hence much disquietude has resulted; for, in addition to the infinite number of suits as to freedom, there is now much trouble as to marriages. This race is very fickle in that matter; and some who were married as freemen are already talking of having their marriages annulled by saying that they are slaves. Since in all these years there has been no disturbance regarding this matter, I trust that your Majesty will ordain that the disposition of the former Audiencia may stand.

On the death of Francisco Sarmiento, who held the office of government secretary of these islands, and on the renunciation of it by Gaspar de Azebo, who bought the office in the time of the former Audiencia, the governor, Don Pedro de Acuña, granted the office to Antonio de Ordas, who acted as his secretary. This was at a time when your treasury was in very great need, and suffered most urgent demands upon it, especially for the building of a ship to go to sea that year. The governor planned to sell this office, and for that purpose the said Antonio de Ordas surrendered it; but when they set about executing the governor's purpose this city interposed with objections, and presented a petition that it might not be sold but might be given as a grant. The basis of their contention was that your Majesty had commanded in one section of the instructions given to Gomez Perez as to the sale of clerical offices that they should be thus managed, and should be given as grants to the well-deserving. It was urged that this should be understood of all such offices, not only of government but of the court of the Audiencia. I opposed the city, and found a special decree to the

effect that these two offices should be sold. This decree was issued in the time of the former Audiencia, and in conformity with it this office was sold. Alleging that the said Ordas, although he had already received that grant, renounced it so that the office might be sold, and a way be found for meeting urgent necessities, I succeeded in effecting the sale, which was made for seventeen thousand pesos to Gaspar Albares, who paid down that sum, with which many matters were attended to. It was distributed in accordance with the decision of the Audiencia in meeting the most important demands, and especially in paying for the building of the said vessel, which would otherwise have been impossible. I also brought forward the argument (which I refer to your Majesty) that an office of such value is a very large grant in these islands; while those who are entitled to receive favors – that is to say, soldiers – are not fitted for such offices. I add that your Majesty is very poor here, and needs to take advantage of all resources. Thus your Majesty will command that which will be most to your service; for all these measures have been taken on condition of receiving your Majesty's approval.

Among the irregularities which I discovered was the following. Although your Majesty has commanded that clerical offices shall not be resigned more than once, and that the resignations shall be confirmed within a limited time, still, of four public notaryships which are in existence here, three have been resigned three or four times, without receiving any confirmation; but from the sales and resignations it has been customary to place a third part in the royal treasury. I entered an action to have them

declared vacant; and after having carefully considered the question, I found that if they were to be granted as a royal bounty, and then were vacated, your treasury would be the loser by being obliged to return the thirds which it had received. On this basis, it is better that things should continue as they are. I have arranged that if they should be vacated they may be sold; for the demands upon the treasury are many. If this plan shall receive your approbation I shall bring the cases to a conclusion; if not, I shall suspend them until your Majesty gives such commands as are most for the good of your service. When these notaryships have been resigned they have brought eight hundred pesos, and latterly one thousand two hundred. They are now worth more than three thousand, so that with a single one it would be possible to pay everything due for the thirds on all. This will remedy something of the much which requires remedy. The same thing can be done with the clerkships of registry, which will be worth more than eight thousand; and with those of probate and of the estates of deceased persons, which will be worth another good sum; and they have all been given for nothing.

It has been very unfortunate that the funds which your Majesty has commanded and decreed to be set aside for special objects have been employed for other purposes. This has been especially the case with the fund for prebends and for the payment of troops, which should be performed with the utmost regularity. I have done all I could to put this in order; but since the current from the past was very strong it was impossible to accomplish my purpose. The reason given was that one fund ought to aid another.

The evils resulting are serious; for both ecclesiastics and soldiers perform their service, and all they get is nothing but poverty. Hence they lament with reason that their salaries are not paid to them. This is a reason that the soldiers are wretched and poor, some of them going about begging for alms. An attempt will be made to correct this when new officials of your exchequer enter their offices; and more certainly your Majesty will provide relief in this direction, so that the soldiers' pay may not fall into arrears. If the Audiencia had not assumed authority to set apart in the treasury the money which came [from Mexico] during the preceding year, one thousand six hundred and five, for persons who had died in previous years in the war with the Sangleys and in other conflicts, to be used to pay the soldiers, it would have been a very great misfortune. With this the matter was set right, and the pay has been kept up; but your Majesty has been obliged to remain in debt for the sum which was taken for this purpose.

The president and the auditors have likewise suffered in their salaries, which are at the present time due them for more than a year. Although for these salaries certain specified encomiendas had been set apart, the returns from these have been mixed with other funds. During the term of the former Audiencia, your Majesty commanded that for this purpose certain encomiendas should be assigned to the crown; but no more than six thousand pesos was thus realized. Since the number of encomiendas above referred to will have to be vacated, your Majesty can decree that some shall be set aside for this purpose; then the treasury will be in a somewhat easier condition.

One of the most important institutions possessed by your Majesty in these islands and in this city is the seminary of Santa Potençiana, in which care is taken of orphaned and poor girls, the daughters of conquistadors; there are in it more than a hundred. The seminary prevents many evil results. The girls leave it, when entering the married state, respected and instructed; and the seminary also serves as a shelter for other women during the absence of their husbands, and for many other good purposes. Your Majesty is its patron, and hence ought to remember it. During Easter week the house, which was very well built, and roofed, was burned to the ground, and its inmates were dispersed. Since it was under the patronage of your Majesty, and on account of the good work that it was doing, the archdeacon of this diocese and I determined to ask for subscriptions in order to rebuild it. The city zealously entered into the work, and we collected about two thousand five hundred pesos, with which we immediately began to build the structure. God was pleased that by the feast of Pentecost we were able to have the greater part of the inmates sheltered, within narrow quarters but under a roof. The work has been continued ever since, and I hope that soon it will be established in its previous condition. Still the institution is very poor, and is in great need. I trust that your Majesty will command that some Indians be assigned it, or that some grant be made to it; for great service is done to God by this institution, through its good works and by preventing the evil which would result in the community if its inmates were left without shelter.

This city was also in need of a hospital in which

care might be taken of Spanish women, of whom there are now many here. So great was their need that some were cared for in a hospital maintained by La Misericordia for the care of slaves. God aroused the zeal of a conquistador of this country, by name Joan Ximenes del Pino; and, encouraged by his own zeal, by suitable measures he bought a building next to the royal hospital for the Spaniards, which could be connected with the latter, and which he has given to the hospital for this purpose, that women may be cared for in it. It cost him five thousand pesos; and besides this he assumed the expense of putting it into a proper state for this purpose, with which intent he placed in my care a sum of money which is being spent. In view of the fact that the expense is increasing, the said hospital will require some grant of aid. I beg your Majesty to give it, for all these institutions are under your protection.

The hospital of the Spaniards also suffers from inadequate service, for lack of attendants; and it is necessary for your Majesty to provide a remedy, which can best be done by sending for this purpose brethren of St. John of God;[28] for although Franciscan friars live there they attend only to the administration of the sacraments, and of everything else there is a lack.[28*]

[28] The hospital order of St. John of God was originally founded by a Portuguese soldier (named Joan), who at the age of forty years devoted himself, as a religious duty, to the care of sick persons. He began a hospital in his own house at Granada (1540), and his bishop permitted him and his associates to wear a habit. After his death (1550) similar hospitals were formed in Spain, and even spread to Italy. In 1585 all these were organized into an order, with constitutions, under the papal sanction; this order is still in existence, and has establishments in many countries. It did not reach the Philippines until 1649.

[28*] Fray Diego Aduarte, Bishop of Nueva Segovia, wrote to the

Since men here are placed in danger they are continually giving out, and when any of them die others take under their guardianship the children of those who are left. Sometimes the guardians give sufficient bonds, and sometimes not; but with the progress of time these cases have grown steadily worse, and the poor minors lose their estates. There are many thousands of ducados in the hands of guardians; and although the alcaldes-in-ordinary have tried to make them render accounts, no accounts have ever been finished during the three years since they were begun, for they are all banded together. This is a wretched state of affairs; hence, in order to correct this, it will be well for your Majesty to give commands that the Audiencia shall take charge of this matter. It should be committed to one auditor, for it can be done in no other way. This community suffers from this evil.

The governor, Don Pedro de Acuña, being obliged

king (July 7, 1606), as follows: "Your Majesty possesses here a royal hospital which is one of the most necessary and useful things in this country for the welfare and care of the poor soldiers and others who serve your Majesty. Although the income which it has is small, it would be sufficient aid, with the many alms given by the citizens who are well to do, if there were some one who could distribute it well and take it in charge as his own affair. It is a most necessary thing for its good government and maintenance that your Majesty should send four or five brethren of the order called Juan de Dios, with the authority of your Majesty and his Holiness, and with power to receive others. For the institution is already founded and everything necessary supplied; and these brethren might come with the religious whom your Majesty sends here, either Franciscan or Dominican; or you might command that some of the excellent hospitallers who are settled in Nueva España should come to these islands, which would economize in expense and hasten their coming, and make it more certain." [*Endorsed*: "September 24, 1607. Have the four brethren whom he mentions sent, and entrust the matter to Señor Don Francisco de Tejada, that he may arrange it with the elder brother of Anton Martin. Have a copy sent to Señor Don Francisco."]

to be absent from the city on the expedition to Maluco, appointed as his lieutenant in the governorship and in matters of war the licentiate Christoval Tellez de Almaçan, second auditor of this Audiencia. As soon as the governor left the city the licentiate Don Antonio de Ribera Maldonado asserted that he, as the senior auditor, had the right to command in war and the Audiencia to direct the government, in conformity with the decree which declares that if the governor shall become unable to perform the duties of his office, the Audiencia shall govern, and the senior auditor shall perform the functions of captain-general. With regard to this the Audiencia determined that the licentiate Don Antonio should fill the office of captain-general, under certain limitations which were set, while the governorship should remain as the governor Don Pedro had left it. If it were necessary to carry out the decree, and if the chief command in military affairs should have to be given to the senior auditor, it ought not to be with limitations. Likewise the Audiencia should assume the functions of the governor. Accordingly, I give a statement of that which has happened, as I am looking to the future. An explanation of the said decree is needed to determine whether, when the governor is absent from the city without leaving the jurisdiction, he shall have authority to appoint whomsoever he chooses, or if the decree must necessarily be carried out. The decree states that, in case the governor thus fails to act, it is necessary to send a report of the facts to your Majesty, that you may take suitable measures; and it seems to refer to the event of death. For deciding this question, it must be considered that it might hap-

pen that the abilities required for the conduct of military affairs would be lacking in the senior auditor, while they might be found in the one whom the governor should appoint. From this it will be clearly seen that for the conduct of military affairs – especially in the condition in which these islands and the new conquest of Maluco at present are – it is undesirable not to be provided in this jurisdiction with a person of much distinction and experience in the conduct of war.

Since your Majesty is at such a distance, and the remedy for these difficulties must come so slowly, there is no one to correct certain ecclesiastics. Their superiors sometimes pay very little attention to the complaints made against them, and hence there have existed and do exist serious acts of impropriety, especially among the religious. Since there is no one who has authority to investigate their cases or to write reports regarding these, matters are in a most lamentable condition, and mainly to the injury of the Indians. The religious make assessments on the natives under the name of benefactions, and employ them at their will, without limit. I have striven to find means to correct this, and have entered suit against the agents whom they employ to carry out their plans; these are called fiscals, and are cruel executors of the will of the religious. I offered my plea, and accordingly the Audiencia decided that none of them should have the right to hold Indians in service or should collect any contributions; and a certain amount of abatement of this unjust practice seems to have resulted. Those who are most notorious in this matter, and who are worse than all the others, are the members of the Order of St. Augustine. They are practically in-

corrigible, on account of having as provincial Fray Lorenço de Leon, a friar of much ambition and ostentation. He left these islands to ask your Majesty for bounty, and now he is striving to go again, and for that purpose has collected a large amount of money. He has even taken the silver from some of the mission churches of his order; and when he visited the province of Ylocos, he even carried away the monstrances for the most holy sacrament from Ylaguan, Vantay, Candon, Tagudin, and other places. It will be well for your Majesty to decree and grant authority to the Audiencia, that it may cause official investigation to be made into these matters and others which may arise, and that it may proceed as do the viceroys of Piru and Mexico. For, so soon as friars are interfered with in any respect, they begin to declare that ecclesiastical censures have been incurred and disturbances are raised, which give occasion for scandal to the common people. When I saw this, I petitioned the said Audiencia for some correction of the unlawful acts of the said provincial; and they directed that the bishop of Nueva Segovia (who was present in this city) and the vicar-general of this archbishopric should make an official report in the matter. This they have done in a secret document, stating the great transgressions of this friar. When I petitioned that some decree should be passed in session of the Audiencia, it was decided that a remedy should be provided; but I have not learned that anything has been done. I inform your Majesty of this, that you may take such measures as shall be necessary.

A great aid in making a beginning in correcting the unlawful proceedings of these religious of the

Augustinian order has been the coming of the discalced friars of the order. They have been very well received and several of the others have begun to join with them, intending principally to escape the tyranny of their provincial. In this way the others and he himself will be corrected, when the good result of their coming shall be evident in this effect, and in the conversion of souls which your Majesty has so much at heart. I have aided them in so far as to provide them with a house, where they now are.

In the vicinity of this city, and within it, there are Indians without number who have come from their native places to escape the labor of tilling the soil and raising animals as they have been commanded. They make their living by buying and selling provisions and other things, to the great damage of this community. I have brought suit that they may be compelled to return to their native places; and finally they have been commanded to do so, a certain number of them being retained for the service of each religious order; these are gathered by the religious into villages. The execution of this decree is very necessary, and your Majesty accordingly ordained it at the suit of this city. Your Majesty will please command that this decree be enforced without exception, especially by directing that these villages for the service of the religious orders be broken up. Each order having been allowed as many as thirty Indians, that number has greatly increased by the protection given to them. The reason why they protect them is, that the Indians serve them either for nothing or at less than the ordinary rate of pay, and the sum allowed them for these Indians who serve them is distributed among those who remain; but, in

order to get these servants cheaply, the religious contrive that there shall be many of them. If those who are necessary are permitted to remain, it is but just that the religious should pay them the regular rate.

Your Majesty has commanded that no one shall enjoy any positions of profit in these islands without being resident here; and that if encomenderos are absent they shall not receive the tributes. In particular, your Majesty has decreed by your royal letters, at the suit of this city, that the encomiendas of the mariscal Gabriel de Ribera, who has long been absent, shall be vacated. The governor accordingly vacated them, giving part of them to Don Jhoan Ronquillo, and placing part of them under the administration of the royal treasury. After this had been executed and settled, another royal letter arrived in which your Majesty granted to the said mariscal the privilege of receiving his tributes during his absence. When his attorney presented this letter I opposed it, and declared that it had been obtained by some improper statement, as I now allege, and as will appear by the documents which I send. Nevertheless, they commanded that the encomiendas in charge of the treasury should be returned to him, bonds being taken; accordingly, they were given to his attorney, because he himself did not come to demand the fulfilment [of the Audiencia's decree]. With regard to this matter your Majesty will take such measures as shall please you – considering that there are many here who, although they have seen service, still suffer need; and who are discontented that others should be rich and, even while absent, enjoy what these men are protecting at so great risk.

The expedition against Mindanao having been ar-

ranged during the year ninety-five with Captain Estevan Rrodriguez de Figueroa, who was under obligations to carry it out, he began to do so, going thither in his own person; but in the year ninety-six he died, at the first assault. The army being unprovided with a commander, the governor of these islands, Don Francisco Tello, selected one. For the continuation of this expedition a very great expense was incurred by the command of the said governor, with the assent and advice of Dr. Antonio de Morga, his assessor and lieutenant. A suit from the heirs afterward followed, on the ground that they were not obliged to continue the expedition, and were not responsible for the expenses thereof. The Audiencia, as a court of appeal, revoked the governor's command, and declared the estate free from obligations. I appealed the case to your Majesty, and sent the original documents. This I did, not only that the principal case might be decided, but also because the heirs claim that your Majesty should cause them to be paid for the expenditure of their property. I offer the advice that even if they were not obliged to carry out the conquest, your Majesty is not their debtor, since you have commanded that such conquests are not to be made on your account and at your cost. Hence these expenses are owing by him who commanded them to be incurred. Since I have been in your Majesty's service I have placed this matter in a clear light, as was not previously the case. When claims were made for wages and other expenses, the Audiencia commanded them to be paid from the royal treasury; and thus many such payments have been made on the account of those who really owed them. At the present time the judges, being in-

formed in regard to these claims, have decided that they are not due from your Majesty. Accordingly your Majesty is not only not obliged to pay them, but has a right to claim satisfaction, for the expenditures from the royal treasury, from the property of the governor Don Francisco; and, in case it is insufficient, from the property of the assessor by whose advice they were incurred.

As to the provision of an incumbent for this office, it should be noticed that most affairs in this country depend upon it – especially the proper care of the Indians, which is most important; for with this office is united that of being their protector. I have always striven to attend to this matter carefully, as I have done in other matters pertaining to your royal service. This I shall continue to do in these islands until an appointment is made: and I petition your Majesty to grant me, when that shall come, permission to leave this kingdom, the governor that shall be in office making me a sufficient allowance for my passage hence. God keep the Catholic personage of your Majesty, with the increase of your realms. Manila, July, 1606.

The licentiate RODRIGO DIAZ GUIRAL

THE TERRENATE EXPEDITION

Sire:

In the Council of War for the Indias there have been presented two letters from Don Pedro de Acuña, governor and captain-general of the Filipinas, written to your Majesty on the first and seventh of July of the year 605 just past, copies of which are enclosed. In them your Majesty, if so pleased, will see in what condition is the expedition for the capture of Terrenate, and how the governor went in person with it, with a great deal of confidence in a favorable outcome, on account of the excellent reënforcement that had been sent to him under the command of the master-of-camp, Juan Desquivel. Although they were fewer in number than what he had asked for, nevertheless he was pleased with the companies that he had seen, and he expected to join with them some men from that garrison and some other available men, and some Indians (Panpangas and others from that vicinity) among whom are excellent arquebusiers and musketeers, who approve themselves very well when in company with Spaniards. He says that he foresaw this undertaking as soon as he began that government; and for that reason he had built five galleys, as he considered them to be the vessels most effective for the defense of that realm. He wrote that he would take

four of them, and five ships and seven brigantines; and besides this five lorchas, which are very good vessels after the Chinese and Japanese style, for both oars and sails, and are more capacious and better suited for carrying food than any other kind of oared vessel. He thought, then, that he would make that expedition, taking with him all these galleys on your Majesty's account, and providing that for the private persons and the encomenderos there should go seven or eight other medium-sized vessels, with high freeboard, in which their masters should take a quantity of biscuit, rice, wine, meat, and other things – which would help greatly, because a large number of volunteers were going. He had made every possible effort in urging these latter to go, representing your Majesty's service to them; and he said that they greatly needed this opportunity, on account of the losses and troubles which they have suffered, and because they are poor and much disheartened. With this force he thought that he would set out from Manila, after St. Francis's day, for the town at the port of Oton, in the island of Panay, where the infantry was stationed, in order that the whole fleet might sail from there at the end of January or the beginning of February of this year, which is the best time for Maluco. He says that he has no doubt of encountering vessels from Olanda and Zelanda, and more this year than in others – according to the reports which he has that in the city of Nostra Dama, and in another near to it, they were getting ready twelve or thirteen large vessels with the intention of coming to the Indias to capture Ambueno and the Malucas; and that they were bringing a large number of men, and also lime and cut stone, as ballast, with which to fortify themselves. He says

that he fears greatly that this may be so because the king of Tidore informed him that the king of Terrenate had sent to the Dutch, offering to permit them to build a fortress and factory in his land, in order to keep them satisfied so that they should help him against the aforesaid king of Tidore and against the Portuguese and Castilians; and that for this reason the forts there and at Ambueno were in great danger. Don Pedro says that, if this is true, there will be a great deal of difficulty in his undertaking. This report by the king of Tidore seems to be confirmed and made more sure by another which he sends with the aforesaid letter of the seventh of July, a copy of which is enclosed. This was made by a Portuguese of Ambueno and a religious of the Society of Jesus, both of whom were living there. It tells more at length of the state of affairs in Maluco, and of the lawlessness of the Hollanders, and their motive in going there with twelve large ships well equipped with artillery, in the year 604 just past; and how they came to Ambueno on the twenty-third of February of 605, with eight ships and six pataches, and captured the fort which was there, and took possession of the Portuguese town – because, those within it, seeing the great number of men and pieces of artillery which they carried, made no defense. Then, with the brick, lime, and stone which they had brought they began to rebuild the fort which the Portuguese had, and they left there about one hundred and thirty men as a garrison. The same thing may be learned from the brother Gaspar Gomes of the Society of Jesus, who has come from the Filipinas, sent by the aforesaid Don Pedro de Acuña and bearing letters from him. He says that the aforesaid Don Pedro had told

him that, when the affair of Maluco was accomplished and the land made safe, he intended to go quickly to settle affairs in Ambueno, because he had heard that the Hollanders who had obtained foothold there were expecting a son of Don Antonio.[29] On this account he desired, as quickly as possible, a special order from your Majesty; and he, the brother Gaspar Gomes, comes to ask for it in the name of Don Pedro. This should be considered with great care, and also what he says in that letter about the king of Japon, in regard to keeping friendship with him – as your Majesty, if you are so pleased, may examine in greater detail in the letter. It is well to note also what he says about the delay that there might be in his receiving succor because your Majesty is so far away, and the great hindrance that it would be to him if they were not very careful and prompt in sending him from Nueva España more men, arms, gunpowder, and munitions in plenty, and also money; for, although the men had been paid for a year, already more than half had passed, and when he shall have started from Oton the year will be entirely completed. It is also necessary that another goodly amount of money be sent to the treasury of the Filipinas Islands, on a separate account, because it is so empty and depleted. The garrison also is lacking in men, and this should be provided for

[29] Evidently referring to Antonio, prior of Crato, pretender to the crown of Portugal (see VOL. I, p. 355). He died at Paris, August 25, 1595; and left six (illegitimate) children, whom he commended to the care of Henri IV of France. It is probable that the son mentioned in our text was Cristoval, his second son (born in 1564); he assumed the title of king of Portugal, and with this pretension might easily undertake to fight against Spain (as usurper of that crown), in aid of the Dutch. Cristoval died at Paris June 3, 1638.

in part. All this having been reviewed and examined with the attention which a matter of so much importance requires, it appears that Don Pedro de Acuña has the Terrenate undertaking well under way, and that he should be thanked for it, as well as for going thither in person, on which account it seems that that matter will have better support, and that better results may be expected from it, on account of the good judgment and experience which he is known to possess. The information which we have of the care with which the rebels are fortifying themselves in those regions and getting control of the trade with them is very important; for from this results very great loss to your Majesty's exchequer, and great benefit and increase to that of the enemy, which may be the greatest support they have for the war which they are carrying on. If God grants good success in the Terrenate undertaking, as is hoped, and if Don Pedro can put that stronghold in a state of defense with a sufficient garrison for safety, and if it appears to him that, with the remainder of his men and what fleet may be left to him, he can regain Ambueno and drive the Hollanders out from that island, as he has given notice that he can do (relying on what the aforesaid brother Gaspar Gomes has said), the aforesaid Don Pedro de Acuña might be commanded to do so, and to place it in such a state of defense and security as is necessary to that stronghold – which is of the greatest importance for the preservation and security of the trade of the crown of Portugal, and for obstructing and hindering the designs of the enemy. Since that nation [*i.e.*, the Dutch] has more steadiness and courage in its military actions than the Indians, and as it is quite a

different thing to fight with them, it is of great importance that Don Pedro should not lack sufficient forces, and that he should be succored from Mexico immediately. For this purpose the Marques de Montesclaros should be written to, and a despatch-boat sent to him, ordering him that without loss of time he should proceed to help Don Pedro with the men, arms, gunpowder, munitions, and money which he requires for this Terrenate expedition, and whatever may result from it, so that the expense which has been already incurred in this may not, for any lack of these things, be put to risk, and that the Holland rebels may not be allowed to get a foothold and establish strongholds in that land; for the honor of the state is imperiled, and very great loss to your Majesty's exchequer is made possible through the hindrance of the trade in spices, if they get it under their control. What should be still more thought of and defended, since it is in greater danger, is the Catholic faith, because the land is infested with heretics, and the Indians are a very pliant and changeable people. Don Pedro should be informed of what the marques has been commanded to do for his help, in order that he may understand, and arrange and provide for everything as is best, in order that the desired result may be obtained.

Don Pedro writes also, in regard to the pay of the men who were sent to him for that expedition, that it seems to him that what a soldier of that military department gets – namely, six pesos a month – is little, when the fact is considered that the country is incomparably more dear than when the pay was fixed; and that the eight ducados which the soldiers of the expedition earn are a great deal. He thinks, there-

fore, that it would be well if both were paid at the rate of eight pesos of eight reals a month, besides the customary thirty ducados which are regularly given in addition to each company in Spain and other regions; and that the captains should earn at the rate of fifty pesos a month, and the sergeants ten, as they do now. As the captains of that region get no more than thirty-five pesos, and those of the expedition get sixty ducados, it seems best to him that these salaries should be adjusted in the way that he states – giving to each at the rate of eight pesos of eight reals a month, and the customary thirty additional ducados a month which are usually given to each company in Spain and elsewhere; and that the captains should receive equally at the rate of fifty pesos a month, and the ensigns twenty, and the sergeants ten, as he says they receive now. Thus all will have pay that is equal and well adjusted, by taking away from some and adding to others, in the way which Don Pedro has proposed. Your Majesty will examine and consider all this, and will order what is best for your service. In Madrid, August 5, 1606.

His Majesty orders that the enclosed report of the Council of War of the Indias concerning the Terrenate undertaking be considered in the Council of State, and that he be informed of what it shall decide. God keep your Lordship. St. Lorenzo, August 15, 1606.

THE DUKE

The honorable secretary, ANDRES DE PRADA

Sire:

The Council, having seen that your Majesty sent

for the enclosed report and the papers of the Council of War of the Indias, voted as follows:

The Cardinal of Toledo – that if the injury which the rebels are causing in India were seen here nearer at hand it would cause great commotion; and that because it is far away it should not be regarded as of little importance, but rather, in order to secure a remedy, we should consider that it is very near. Accordingly, we should attend to it with the greatest diligence, and agree to what has seemed best to the Council of War of the Indias and to Don Pedro de Acuña – to whom many thanks are due for the good courage with which he prepared for the undertaking and the care with which he gave notice of the things that were necessary for it, from which, with the favor of God, we may expect good results. The completion of the undertaking is of the greatest importance for the state and for its good repute. This consists in helping Don Pedro with all that he needs, in order that for lack of it he may not leave the work unfinished, and that what has been gained may not be lost again; for the greater the foothold that the rebels get in those regions, and the stronger they grow there, the harder it will be to remedy the matter, and the greater will be the harm which will come from them to your Majesty's realms and to their honor. It is well to order the Marques de Montesclaros to assist and help Don Pedro de Acuña in every way that he needs, and to do it so promptly that he shall not fail to succeed in the undertaking for lack of it. Besides, he thinks it well that your Majesty should favor Don Pedro in matters which are so properly under his charge as the matters of war are, so that the archbishop and the Audiencia may know that in

these things they are to respect him and allow him to do what he thinks best; and that Don Pedro should be advised that in matters which concern government and justice he should have a great deal of respect for the archbishop and the Audiencia.

The Constable of Castile – that he has nothing to add to the report of the Council of War of the Indias since the importance of the matter shows how proper it is that the Marques de Montesclaros should give prompt assistance to Don Pedro de Acuña, and that it should be ordered exactly so. He thinks that it is very well that the archbishop and the Audiencia should not be mixed up in matters of war, since they do not understand them. In regard to what concerns Portugal, he supposes that your Majesty probably has had notice sent to that Council; and if not, that it would be well to do so.

The Conde de Olivares agreed to all that has been said; and he thinks it well that the ship which the report mentions should be sent at once to Nueva España, informing the Marques de Montesclaros of the importance of the expedition, and ordering him to supply Don Pedro de Çuniga [*sic*] with all that he needs for the proper execution of it, in such manner that he shall have no excuse for evading such requisition. He also would command the archbishop and the Audiencia not to meddle in matters of war, and to order Don Pedro to keep the friendship and good understanding which he has with the king of Japon, and to hang all the rebels that he shall capture. Your Majesty will ordain, in all matters, what shall be most to your service.

DECREE ESTABLISHING A WAY-STATION FOR PHILIPPINE VESSELS ON THE CALIFORNIA COAST

The King: To Don Pedro de Acuña, knight of the Order of St. John, my governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia therein: You have already heard that Don Luis de Velasco, former viceroy of Nueva España – in view of the long navigation from the port of Acapulco to those islands, and the great hardship and danger of navigation in that voyage because of having no station wherein to repair the ships, and to supply them with water, wood, masts, and other requisite and necessary things – determined to explore and mark out the ports of the coasts from the said Nueva España to those islands. He ordered that this effort should be made by a vessel called "San Agustin;" but, as that vessel was lost, the said exploration was not then effected. You know that afterward the Conde de Monterrei, who succeeded him in that government, finding the same inconveniences in the said navigation, and thinking it advantageous to remedy them by making anew the exploration that Don Luis de Velasco had attempted, wrote me in regard to it. He said that, in his opinion, it could be made by small vessels sailing from the port

of Acapulco; and that the reconnoitering of the coasts and ports of the bay of the Californias might be included in it, as well as the fisheries. In reply I ordered, on the twenty-seventh of September of five hundred and ninety-nine, that letters be written to him in my name that I considered the demarcation and exploration of that coast and its ports very desirable, and that he should accordingly set about it immediately; but advising him not to undertake the exploration of the Californias except in passing. In pursuance thereof, I appointed Sebastian Vizcayno for that purpose as he was a man experienced in maritime matters, and careful and skilled in those of that route, and as he was one with whom I was thoroughly satisfied. Having given him for the voyage two vessels, a lancha and a barcoluengo,[29*] with the sailors and soldiers, ammunition and provisions, necessary for a year, and a cosmographer, skilful and versed in geometrical tables, in order that he might very minutely and accurately place and set down what should be discovered on a map and chart. After having received his orders and instructions, he set sail on the fifth of May, in the year 602, from the port of Acapulco to make the above mentioned exploration; as I was advised by the said Conde de Monterrei and Sebastian Vizcaino.[30] These after-

[29*] *Lancha*: a small vessel navigated with sails and oars; cf. English "launch." *Barcoluengo*: an oblong boat with a long bow, its only mast being in the center.

[30] The capture of the "Santa Ana" by Cavendish in 1588, and the difficulties and risks of the long Pacific voyage for the richly-laden galleons from Manila, made it evident that some halting-place for them should be provided on the California coast. The vessel "San Agustin" was despatched from Manila in 1595 to search for such a place, but was wrecked in the present Drake Bay. In the preceding year Velasco had made a contract with

ward wrote me by several letters (the most recent of which were dated on the last of April, 604) that Sebastian Vizcaino spent eleven months in that voyage; and that he began, from the same port, to delineate and sound the coast, ports, bays, and indentations up to the thirty-seventh degree, with all the precision and exactness needful and required; and that from the thirty-seventh degree to the forty-second he accomplished nothing beyond sighting the land. He had been unable to take so particular care there as he had done up to the thirty-seventh degree, because many of the crew fell sick, and the weather there was very contrary. He said that that whole coast, as far as the fortieth degree, extends northwest and southeast; that the other two degrees remaining in the forty-two degrees extend practically north and south; and that from the mouth of the Californias up to the thirty-seventh degree, he found three very excellent ports on the mainland – namely, San Diego

Sebastian Vizcaino for the exploration and occupation for Spain of California; but he did not begin his task until 1597, when he was sent out by Monterey. This expedition accomplished little; but Vizcaino was selected to command the one mentioned in our text, which had the same object as that for which the "San Agustin" was sent, and the pilot of that vessel accompanied Vizcaino. There appear to have been four vessels in this expedition, which carried nearly two hundred men: there were also three Carmelite friars, one of whom, Antonio de la Ascension, kept a diary of the voyage, and assisted the cosmographer, Gerónimo Martin Palacios. They returned to Acapulco in March, 1603, having explored and mapped the coast of California beyond Cape Mendocino, and discovered the bays of Todos Santos, San Diego, and Monterey. Vizcaino made another voyage (1611-14), which was originally intended for the establishment and equipment of the port of Monterey as a station for the Philippine vessels, but was diverted to the Pacific Ocean and Japan. See Bancroft's account of these explorations – with abundant citations of sources, and reduced copy of Vizcaino's map – in his *History of North Mexican States* (San Francisco, 1886), i, pp. 147-163.

in thirty-three degrees, and the second, of less excellence, near it. That of San Diego is very large and capable of holding many vessels; and it has water and wood. The third is better and more suitable for the Chinese vessels, and as a station for the ships of the line from those islands. It is called Monterrei, and lies in thirty-seven degrees. It has water and wood, better and in greater quantity than the other port. It is excellently sheltered from all winds, and abounds in pines along the coast, of whatever size one may wish, for use as masts. That port is very suitable so that the vessels on returning from those Filipinas Islands may go there without there being any necessity of going to Japon by reason of storms, as vessels have done several times, losing thereby a very great amount of property. The vessels from China generally run along in sight of this place, for which purpose it is also very suitable. For, if that port be known, then vessels will not port until reaching it, when necessity would otherwise compel them to go to Japon and to those islands, since the work and trouble necessary to reach those places would take them to the said port. Besides, they report that the country is of a mild climate and very fertile (as is seen by its numerous trees), and very thickly inhabited with people of very mild and docile disposition, and whose reduction to the holy gospel and to my royal crown will be very easy. It maintains itself, and the food is of many different kinds of grain and of flesh of game, with which the country is exceedingly well supplied. The dress of the Indians of the coast is made of the skins of sea-wolves, which the Indians tan and dress very well. They have abundance of thread made from Castilian flax, hemp, and cotton. By these

Indians and by many others whom the said Sebastian Vizcaino discovered along the coast in the more than eight hundred leguas of his voyage, he was everywhere informed that there were great settlements inland, and silver and gold. This is considered to be true, because veins of metals were discovered in some parts of the mountains of the mainland. If the seasons of the summer were known, one could enter the interior through this place and locate those metals, for it promises great wealth. Also the rest of the coast might be explored from that port, for it extends past the forty-second degree where the said Sebastian Vizcayno went, and which was named as his limit in his instructions. The coast extends even to Japon and the Chinese coast. He said that he could not enter the mouth of the [gulf of the] Californias, on his return and while passing, as I had sent him orders, because many of his crew had fallen ill and were dying rapidly, and because his provisions had suddenly become bad, which obliged him to hasten his return. After examination of this in my royal Council of the Indias, together with the surveys and relations that were sent with the description of each port, singly, of those discovered by the said Sebastian Vizcaino, and after having listened to the cosmographer Andres Garcia de Cespedes, they advised me; and after considering the great importance, for the safety and security of the ships coming from those islands – a navigation of more than two thousand leguas of open water – of their having a port on the voyage, wherein to be repaired and to take in water, wood, and provisions, and that the said port of Monterrei, lying on the thirty-seventh degree, will be a half-way station, and that it has all the good

qualities that may be desired, I have deemed it advisable that all the vessels from those islands, since they approach that coast, shall enter that port, and there be repaired and reprovisioned. In order to initiate this and establish it as a fixed and well-known practice, I have ordered Marques de Montesclaros,[31] my present viceroy of the said provinces of Nueva España, by another decree of the date of this present, to have the said Sebastian Vizcaino, if now alive, sought with all care and diligence, since he has made the said exploration, and has coasted from Acapulco to Cape Mendocino; and, as soon as he shall have been found, to order him to go to those islands. Sebastian Vizcaino is to take with him his own chief pilot, or the chief pilot of the admiral; and in order that his voyage may have the effect intended, and be accomplished with all possible promptness, as is desirable, I have ordered the said marques to despatch the ships that are to sail to those islands in the coming year, 607. He shall despatch them in the usual manner, and as has been done hitherto, as you probably can not have any vessels constructed there of the two hundred tons capacity which is necessary for the trade, in accordance with the new decree that I had issued in this regard, because of the short time since it was given. The marques is to appoint the said Sebastian Vizcayno commander of the said fleet; and, as his admiral, the one whom he had in the discovery of the said port[32] – if both are living. If either of them is dead, then he shall send as commander the one of them still living. As chief pilot, he shall send the said Sebastian Vizcayno's pilot or that of his ad-

[31] See VOL. XIII, p. 228, note 31.

[32] This admiral was Toribio Gomez de Corvan.

miral, so that, having the vessels in charge on the return voyage, they may ascertain in what manner the said port of Monterrey can be colonized and made permanent; and can show its bay, and the manner of making that navigation,[88] to the pilots and crews of the said vessels, and especially to two men whom I order you to send with the said commander Sebastian Vizcayno from those islands. These men are to be possessed of all the good qualities, knowledge, and experience necessary, so that they may reconnoiter the said port, and may be given commands as commander and admiral of the vessels that are to sail from Acapulco to those islands in the year 608, since the said Sebastian Vizcayno has to go to colonize the said port. It is my will that these two men and the said Sebastian Vizcayno and his admiral – and I shall consider myself as served if you favor and honor them in every way possible – have and be paid the usual salary that the other commanders and admirals of the said line have had; and that it be paid to the former in the same form and manner as it is paid to the latter. In order that all the above commands may have the end and effect intended, as is necessary, I strictly charge you that you assist on your part, in whatever pertains to you, with the care and diligence that I expect from your prudence and great zeal; and you shall advise me of what is done, so that I may have full information thereof. Given in San Lorenzo el Real, August 19, 1606. I THE KING

Countersigned by Juan de Sivicay; signed by the members of the Council.

[88] The route of vessels to and from the Philippines is described by Morga at the end of his *Sucesos* (VOLS. XV and XVI of this series).

CHINESE IMMIGRATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

Official report of the ships from China which came this year 1606 and of the men in them.

I, Pedro Muñoz de Herrera, official receiver of testimony for the royal Audiencia and Chancillería of these Philipinas Islands, and notary of the commission on the Sangleys, give my certificate and testimony, based upon a memorandum of the inspection of the ships which have come this year from China to this city, made before me, the said notary, and the ensign Pedro Gr[a] Prieto, deputy of the said commission, as to the number of the ships which have come, and the men in them, in the form and manner following:

The ship of Captain Pinyon brought three hundred and twenty-two Sangleys . . . 322

The ship of Captains Binçan and Quinten brought two hundred and ninety-four . 294

The ship of Captain Yantin brought three hundred and forty-five 345

The ship of Captain Onsan brought three hundred Sangleys 300

The ship of Captain Sanagu brought three hundred and twenty-four 324

The ship of Captain Cuheran brought two hundred and eighty-four 284

The ship of Captain Selhuan brought three hundred and sixty-seven 367
The ship of Captain Nohu brought two hundred and forty Sangleys 240
The ship of Captain Sousan brought four hundred and twenty-three Sangleys . . . 423
The ship of Captain Guarquico brought three hundred and twenty-three Sangleys . . 323
The ship of Captain Unican brought two hundred and thirty Sangleys . . . 230
The ship of Captain Ay Pagu brought two hundred and four Sangleys . . . 204
The ship of Captain Onray brought two hundred and sixty-five 265
The ship of Captain Cime two hundred and fifty 250
The ship of Captain Yansan two hundred and ten 210
The ship of Captain Ciggan one hundred and forty-one Sangleys 141
The ship of Captain Zuan one hundred and sixty-three Sangleys 163
The ship of Captain Ciray four hundred and ninety-two Sangleys 492
The ship of Captain Ciquey brought two hundred and sixty-one Sangleys . . . 261
The ship of Captain Tzutian brought one hundred and sixty-three 163
The ship of Captain Tongon two hundred and fifty-nine 259
The ship of Captain Tzontzan two hundred and twenty Sangleys 220
The ship of Captain Biçan brought seventy-five Sangleys 75

The ship of Captain Buyan brought three hundred and one Sangleys	301
The ship of Captain Licbeu brought seventy-seven Sangleys	77
	2,011 [84]

as appears and is stated at greater length in the said memorandum of inspection, to which I refer. That the same might be officially verified, at the request of his Majesty's fiscal the royal Audiencia, and at the direction of the president and auditors thereof, I have made this report, Manila, July 4, 1606, before Geronimo de Peralta and Miguel de Vemaga as witnesses.

In witness of the accuracy hereof:

PEDRO MUÑOZ DE HERRERA, notary and official receiver of testimony.

Felipe III to Pedro de Acuña

Don Pedro de Acuña, my governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands: I received your letter of July 10 of last year, in which you inform me of the coming to these realms of some religious, among them Hernando de los Rios Coronel and Fray Pedro de San Francisco and others, who are acquainted with many details and circumstances of the uprising of the Sangleys in the year 1603. From them, as you suggest, I can command full information to be given me concerning the whole matter, since they are persons of approved reputation and entitled to credit. I am pleased that you have sent me this information, since in due time I shall com-

[84] This total is as found in the MS., but is inaccurate. The correct total is 6,533.

mand the proper proceedings to be taken with reference to these persons. Ventosilla, November 4, 1606.

I THE KING

Certified to by Juan de Civica, and signed by the Council.

Don Pedro de Acuña, my governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands and president of my royal Audiencia thereof: By various letters and reports which have been received in my royal Council of the Yndias, I have learned that there have entered and are living in the city of Manila three or four thousand Sangleys. It has seemed to me that although, for the convenience of supplying necessary things for the country, it is well that as many should remain as are needed, still the most careful attention must be given to the evil results which have previously been perceived, and to the very great injuries which have followed from the permission that so many should enter and remain in the country. I accordingly charge you that you pay heed to this matter, and that you permit to remain no more than are absolutely necessary, having respect to no other consideration; since nothing can be so profitable as to compensate for the damage which may follow from the contrary course. Bentosilla, November 4, 1606.

I THE KING

Certified to by Juan de Civica, and signed by the members of the Council.

LETTER FROM FELIPE III TO ACUNA

The King: To Don Pedro de Acuña, my governor and captain-general of the Filipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia there. Your letter of the fifteenth of July of 604, which is in reply to and in satisfaction of some points in another of mine dated the sixteenth of February of 602, has been received and considered in my royal Council of the Indias. I am glad to see the care with which you say that you are trying to avoid all the expenses that are possible to my royal exchequer; and, since all your care is necessary on account of the present and future occasions for necessary expense in those islands, I charge you to keep before you what I entrust to you.

I was also pleased to hear of the importance of the voyage of Francisco Rodriguez de Avila and his men to the island of Camar, in order to pacify the natives for the harm which they received from the people of Mindanao, and to defend them if they should come again; and the care which you took in this matter and in all the rest which you advised concerning this uprising in Mindanao. I thank you, and charge you that, on occasions which may arise in the future, you do the same.

You say that you have consulted with the Au-

diencia there, and with the archbishop and the religious, to see if it is proper that the Indians pay their tributes, or part of them, in kind; and that you would try to have them reach a decision, in order that you may inform me of it on the earliest occasion. I charge you to do so, fulfilling what I have commanded you in regard to this matter.

You have done well, during your administration, in not paying false musters, as you informed me; and in not allowing gratuities or salaries to be paid to the captains, ensigns and other war officers who were appointed by Don Francisco Tello, your predecessor, for the people of the villages.

I have seen what you say concerning the lading and despatching of vessels for Nueva España and the care which you take that in this matter, and in the allotment of the amount allowed [by law] there should be the equity, accurate account, and method which is proper; and although I am satisfied with this, nevertheless I have thought it well to charge you, as I do charge you now, that you should use the greatest care in this matter, informing me of all that occurs; and I am grateful for the matters which are in your care.

You have done well in ordering my royal officials not to give wine at the expense of my royal exchequer for celebrating mass in the encomiendas of private persons, but rather to oblige the encomenderos themselves to provide it; and you will try to have them do so, since it is just that this should be at their expense and to their account.

You say that you did not find sufficient evidence that there were illegal methods in the election of the twelve regidors that are in that city, and that you

feared that, if you investigated the matter, there would have arisen uneasiness which might have been followed by trouble, and so you resolved to let it be; and also because, as they are being vacated, the four offices can be done away with which are in excess of the number which I have ordered that there should be. As it has appeared that this was a good decision, I have chosen to refer to you what concerns this particular case, in order that you may do what seems best to you – provided, as I have said, that you observe and fulfil what I have commanded, whenever occasion arises.

Regarding what you said, that it did not seem best to you that an auditor should go to visit the country, for the reasons and causes which you mentioned, you will try to see that what has been provided for in regard to this be followed and executed.

I have seen the trouble which has been caused you in carrying out the order that no more money should be taken to those islands than that which is allowed, although you promptly executed the order; and all that you say in regard to its being better not to press this matter very much for the present, not only for the population of this land, which is of so much importance, but also for the increase of trade. Nevertheless it has seemed best to me to command you to follow what I have ordered, without deviating from it in any way.

I have seen what you say regarding the business of the three royal officials of those islands, and that the office of treasurer cannot be dispensed with because it is so necessary on this account; all that you have told me in this regard is satisfactory to me, and I am informed in regard to it. You will inform me (if,

as you say, you have not done so), of anything that you may observe in regard to the persons whom my aforesaid royal officials are stationing in the warehouses, according to what I have commanded you.

I have been pleased to hear of the improvement in the orders regarding the good treatment of the natives, and the very great care which you exercise in looking after them, and in seeing that they be relieved from all hardships which can be avoided; and I command you to continue to do so. I charge you also not to relax in the efforts which you say that you are making that the work on the great church may be urged on; and that you gather materials and begin to rebuild the hospital for the Spaniards, which was burned in the fire in the year 1603 – although difficulties will not fail to arise therein, in accordance with the poverty which you say exists in that country.

I thank you for the care which you have taken of the seminary of Santa Potenciana, and that its inmates should live in due seclusion; and I have been pleased to hear that you should make efforts to have me send orders to the viceroy of Nueva España to send some religious women thither for the improvement of the seminary.

It will be well if you have my royal arms placed on the houses of the cabildo of that city, as you say that you will do. Ventosilla, November 4, 1606.

I THE KING

By order of the king our sovereign:

JUAN DE ZIVIZA

DOCUMENTS OF 1607

Petition for a grant to the Jesuit seminary in Leyte. January 18.

Artillery at Manila in 1607. Alonso de Biebengud; July 6.

Letter from the Audiencia to Felipe III, on the Confraternity of La Misericordia. Pedro Hurtado de Esquivel; July 11.

Trade of the Philippines with Mexico. December 18.

Passage of missionaries via the Philippines to Japan. Conde de Lemos, and others; 1606-07.

SOURCES: The first three of these documents are obtained from the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla; the last two, from the Archivo general at Simancas.

TRANSLATIONS: The first document, and the third paper in the fifth, are translated by James A. Robertson; the second and third, by Henry B. Lathrop, of the University of Wisconsin; the second paper of the fifth, by Norman F. Hall, of Harvard University; the remainder, by Robert W. Haight.

PETITION FOR GRANT TO THE JESUIT SEMINARY IN LEYTE

Sire:

The religious of the Society of Jesus of the Philipinas Islands, considering that that country was so new, and that it was advisable that the Indians be reared from its beginning in good customs and Christian civilization, founded a seminary in the island of Leyte, located in the province of Pintados. There they instruct the native children of the island in good customs and in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and teach them to speak Spanish, and other things which conduce to virtue. Inasmuch as the governor of the said islands was made cognizant of the above, he ordered in the year 601 that one hundred pesos of common gold and two hundred fanégas of unwinnowed rice be given the said religious annually for four years, for the support of the said seminary, to be taken from the fund of the fourths [*i.e.*, fourths of the tributes] of the city of Manila – provided that the Jesuits could obtain a decree in which your Majesty should give your consent to this grant. On behalf of the said religious it has been represented that excellent results have been attained from the foundation of the said seminary, which still continue; and that it is advisable that it be maintained. They en-

treat your Majesty to consider the matter, and have the above-mentioned gift approved, and the said alms continued to them for ten years more; for otherwise it cannot take effect. Having examined this in the Council, we think that, because of the great need for the said seminary in that country, the provision of the governor for a grant to them for four years may be confirmed; and, in order that the seminary be preserved and continued, that the concession of the said one hundred pesos of common gold and the two hundred fanégas of rice, taken from the fund of the fourths, may be made for ten years more, as they petition. The governor should be ordered to have it all very carefully distributed for the said purpose, and give advice thereof. Your Majesty will order as suits your pleasure. Madrid, January 18, 1607.

[Four signatures follow.]

ARTILLERY AT MANILA IN 1607

MEMORANDUM OF ALL THE ARTILLERY IN THE FORTIFICATIONS OF MANILA, JUNE 20, 1607

Fort of Santiago

One half-culverin, old casting of Manila, choke-bored, caliber fourteen libras, twenty calibers in length.

One full-sized saker of the same casting, caliber ten libras, length thirteen calibers.

Another of the same casting, a paterero,[25] caliber eleven libras, length fourteen calibers.

Another paterero of the same casting, caliber ten libras, and thirteen calibers in length.

Two bastards, casting Mexican – one of twenty-seven calibers, and the other choke-bored – of twenty-four calibers, caliber ten libras.

One saker, old Manila casting, caliber six libras, length thirty calibers.

One culverin, caliber nineteen libras, old Manila casting, choke-bored, twenty-nine calibers in length.

One demi-saker, Mexican casting, caliber three and a half libras, length thirty-two calibers.

One bastard saker, Genoese casting, caliber six libras, length twenty-four calibers.

[25] Also written "pederero" – from Old Spanish *pedra*, "a stone;" so named because of the use of stone for balls, before iron balls were invented; a swivel-gun. For descriptions and illustrations of various kinds of artillery, see Demmin's *Arms and Armor* (London, 1877).

One paterero, Portuguese casting, caliber eleven libras, length fourteen calibers.

One demi-saker, cast in Piru, caliber three and a half libras, length twenty-nine calibers.

One saker, caliber six libras, cast in Flandes, thirty calibers in length.

Another saker, cast in Mexico, caliber six libras, thirty-four calibers in length.

One paterero, old Manila casting, caliber eight libras, length fourteen diameters.

Another similar paterero.

Two catapults, new Manila casting, caliber twenty libras.

One paterero of the same casting, caliber fifteen libras, length fourteen diameters.

One saker, cast in Mexico, caliber five and a half libras, length thirty calibers.

One cannon, old Manila casting, caliber thirty-seven libras, length twenty calibers.

One demi-saker, cast in Flandes, caliber four libras, length thirty calibers.

One demi-saker, cast in Flandes, caliber four libras, length thirty calibers.

One demi-saker, cast in Piru, caliber three libras and a half, length twenty-nine calibers.

One demi-saker, old Manila casting, caliber four libras, length thirty-one diameters.

One paterero, cast in Portugal, caliber thirty-one libras, fourteen calibers in length.

In all, there are in the said fort twenty-six pieces.

Breastwork of S. Gabriel in Parian of the Sangleys

One paterero of Portuguese casting, caliber fourteen libras, length thirteen calibers.

One demi-cannon cast in Manila, old style, caliber sixteen libras, length twenty-two calibers.

One passe-volante, cast in Flandes, caliber five libras, length four calibers.

One paterero, cast in Manila, caliber thirteen libras, length thirteen calibers.

One demi-saker, old Manila casting, caliber three and a half libras, length thirty-two calibers.

One saker cast in Mexico, caliber five libras, length thirty calibers.

In the said breastwork there are six pieces.

Breastwork of Dilao

One demi-saker of three libras caliber, old casting of Manila, length thirty-three calibers.

One saker, old casting of Manila, caliber seven libras, length twenty-nine calibers.

Another saker, cast in Mexico, caliber one libra, length thirty-two calibers.

One paterero, cast in Portugal, caliber thirteen libras, length thirteen calibers.

In the said breastwork there are four pieces.

Breastwork of S. Andres near the Foundry

Two patereroes, new casting of Manila, caliber eight libras, length thirteen calibers.

One demi-saker of the same casting, caliber three and a half libras, length thirty diameters.

Another demi-saker, old casting of Manila, caliber three and a half libras, length thirty calibers.

One passavolante [*i.e.*, small culverin], cast in Flandes, caliber five libras, length forty calibers.

One saker, cast in Mexico, caliber seven libras, length twenty-eight calibers.

In the said fort there are six pieces.

Breastwork of S. Pedro near the New Port

One saker cast in Mexico, caliber five libras, length thirty-two calibers.

One demi-saker cast in Manila by Sangleys, caliber three libras, length thirty calibers.

Two patereroes, new casting of Manila, caliber eight libras, length thirteen calibers.

One demi-saker, new casting of Manila, caliber three and a half libras, length thirty-one calibers.

One demi-saker of the same casting, caliber two libras, length thirty diameters.

In the said fort are six pieces.

Fort of Nuestra Señora de Guia

One demi-cannon, old casting of Manila, caliber sixteen libras, length twenty-two calibers.

Two sakers, old casting of Manila, caliber six libras, length twenty-eight calibers.

One paterero of the same casting, caliber twelve libras, length eleven calibers.

Another paterero, new casting of Manila, caliber eight libras, length thirteen diameters.

One bell-mouthed piece, caliber six libras, length twelve calibers.

One demi-cannon, old casting of Manila, caliber sixteen libras, length twenty-two calibers.

In the said fort there are seven pieces.

Curtain on the Water-front

One paterero, new casting of Manila, caliber eight libras, length thirteen calibers, in front of the palace.

One saker, cast in Mexico, caliber six libras, length thirty-one calibers, in the middle of the curtain.

There are on the water-front two pieces.

Plaza de Armas

One demi-saker, cast in Acapulco, caliber three libras, length thirty calibers.

One saker, cast in Acapulco, caliber three libras, length thirty calibers.

One saker, cast in Yngalaterra, caliber eight libras, length twenty-eight calibers.

One demi-saker cast in Flandes, caliber four libras, length thirty calibers.

Another demi-saker, of the same casting and the same style.

Another demi-saker, old casting of Manila, caliber four libras, length twenty-eight calibers.

Another demi-saker of the same casting, caliber four libras, length thirty calibers.

There are in the said plaza six pieces.

In Cavite

There are two sakers which came from Terrenate – one cast in Manila, caliber six libras; and the other in Flandes, caliber seven libras.

There are also four falcons, large patereroes, which were brought in the said ship.

In the magazines there are two or three falcon patereroes.

Flag-Ship of the Galleys

One piece, one-third cannon caliber, cast in Acapulco, caliber eleven libras, length twenty-two calibers.

Two small culverins [*moyanas*] – cast one in Yngla-

terra, caliber three libras; the other in Manila, caliber two libras.

Four catapults, two discharging stone balls of twenty-five libras, and the other two of thirteen libras, new casting of Manila.

On the said galley there are seven pieces.

Second Galley, "San Lorenço"

One piece, one-third cannon caliber, cast in Acapulco, caliber eleven libras, length twenty-two calibers.

Two catapults, new casting of Manila, caliber seventy-three libras.

Two small culverins [*moyanas*] of the said casting, caliber one libra.

On the said galley are five pieces.

Recapitulation of the Artillery

Fort of Santhiago	26	pieces
Breastwork of S. Gabriel	6	"
Breastwork of Dilao	4	"
Breastwork of S. Andres	6	"
Breastwork of S. Pedro	6	"
Fort of Nuestra Señora de Guia . .	7	"
Curtain of the Water-front	2	"
Plaza des Armas	6	"
Cavite	2	"
In the said Cavite, falcon patereroes .	4	"
Magazines, falcons	2	"
Flag-ship Galley	7	"
Second Galley	5	"
	83	"

I, Alonso de Bienbengud, commander of the artil-

lery of our lord the king in this his royal military station of Manila in the Philipinas Islands, certify that the artillery declared in this list and memorandum is placed and distributed in the forts, breastworks, traverses, and other places named therein, and that it is of the character described; in witness whereof these presents are signed with my name. Manila, the sixth of July, one thousand six hundred and seven.

LETTER FROM THE AUDIENCIA TO FELIPE III

ON THE CONFRATERNITY OF LA MISERICORDIA

Your Majesty gives commands in a letter dated the seventeenth of April, 1606, for information to be sent regarding the nature of the Confraternity of La Misericordia of this city, when and with what official license it was organized, its constitution, the amount of its income and the manner in which the income is distributed, the good results which have followed from the establishment of the Confraternity, and what are its constitutions [*i.e.*, rules of organization]. Your Majesty also asks that a copy of these constitutions be sent, and information as to whether the present income of the Confraternity is sufficient for its purposes, and whether some grant may properly be made to it; and, if so, the amount and form of grant that would be suitable – so that your Majesty may be furnished with full information on the whole matter. Since, as has been stated, the departure of these vessels is so near at hand, a copy of the constitutions of the Confraternity is not sent, but a summary of them, which is enclosed. Your Majesty will see by this abstract that the works to which this Confraternity is dedicated are those of great charity and of service to God our Lord. To all such works it attends with great fervor, using the charitable gifts which are be-

stowed for this purpose. Although this Audiencia asked the brethren of the Confraternity to make a statement of the manner in which your Majesty might make them a grant, and as to the amount thereof, they were unable to discover any way in which the grant could be made; nor could this Audiencia perceive any, so much exhausted and indebted is the treasury of your Majesty. Accordingly, your Majesty may make such grant as shall please your Majesty, which will be well employed by them, and much to the service of God and your Majesty. [*In the margin*: "There is no answer. Let a copy of this section be given to the secretary, Señor Contreras, that he may know the deliberations and decree."]

The activity of the Confraternity of La Misericordia in this city began fourteen years ago. At that time the governor associated with himself some twelve of the chief persons here, and they gave every week from their own households what was necessary for the support of widows, the poor, persons in secret distress, and others in pressing need. This they continued to do until they received the rules governing the Confraternity in the city of Lisboa, where it was first established. By these rules they have been governed ever since, the number of brethren being now a hundred and fifty.

1. In the first place, knowing that women, both Spanish and mestizas, suffered greatly in case of sickness, for lack of a hospital in which to be treated, the Confraternity determined to establish one, which is still called the hospital of La Misericordia. They bought land and erected a building with the money given in alms; and they pay the expense of keeping

a physician and a surgeon, of medicines, and of the maintenance of two Franciscan religious, who administer the sacraments and care for the welfare of the souls of the patients. In addition, the Confraternity has made up for the lack of a hospital for slaves by setting apart some rooms where slaves go to be cared for, and are attended to with special care of both their bodies and their souls.

2. The principal matter to which the Confraternity gave its attention from the first was the succor of needy persons who committed themselves to its protection – as widows, married persons, orphans, cripples, and deserted persons of good life. To them the Confraternity give what is necessary for their daily support. This matter is attended to once a week by two brethren who give them aid in their own houses, within and without the walls of the city, doing the work with all the secrecy in the world. Upon this are spent weekly sixty or seventy pesos, more or less, according to the amount of contributions received.

3. The Confraternity has always attended to the support of the poor in the prison. A brother is assigned to this duty, who causes food for the poor prisoners to be prepared daily at his own house, and takes care to have it sent to them with great regularity. He also provides the said prison with water sufficient for the prisoners, which is their greatest want.[26] Thus they alleviate the misery of the prisoners. The said prison is always attended by one of the brethren of high station, that he may attend to the care and prompt decision of the cases of poor prisoners.

[26] Cf. "Foundation of the Audiencia," VOL. VI, p. 37, sec. 295.

4. This Confraternity attends to providing a shelter for the daughters of poor conquistadors and colonists, and for other women whom they consider thus in need; and has placed them in a seminary in this city, supporting them there until they enter the married state, and then it gives them assistance according to their rank.

5. The Confraternity takes great care to place orphan boys where they may be cared for, and to protect them. Those who desire to give themselves to exercises of virtue and learning it places in a college of the Society of Jesus, paying for each one a hundred pesos for his board.

6. The Confraternity also aids with clothing, which it collects from charitable persons, which the said brethren give to both men and women, who would suffer greatly without this assistance and care, from lack of clothes. Many women would not go to mass for lack of cloaks and other things needed, if this alms were not given them.

7. It gives aid to many sick persons who, as incurable and beyond remedy, are discharged from the royal hospital – the physicians directing them, if they wish to recover, to go to certain baths about twelve leguas from the city.[87] They are assisted to do this, that they may recover their health.

[87] Referring to the famous hot springs and health resort of Los Baños, situated on the southern coast of Laguna de Bay, thirty-five miles from Manila, at the foot of the volcanic mountains Maquíling and Los Baños. See Chirino's account of these springs, in chap. x of his *Relacion* (VOL. XII of this series). Cf. the more detailed accounts by La Concepción (*Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, pp. 134-151), Zúñiga (*Estadismo*, i, pp. 180-185), and Buzeta and Bravo (*Diccionario*, ii, pp. 168-179). The virtues of these waters were first made known by St. Pedro Bautista, the noted Franciscan martyr (VOL. VIII, p. 233), in the year 1590; and he undertook to found there a hospital, but for lack of means this project languished until

8. Every week when they hold their meeting and assembly they give assistance to many persons who do not receive continued assistance, and they also aid many who are on their way to Nueva España – discharged ensigns, sergeants, and soldiers. These are assisted in proportion to their rank, as their need and their service to your Majesty are known.

9. The Confraternity has also given aid outside of this city, by sending to the provinces of Pintados much aid to the Portuguese, of both the higher and the lower classes, who by the destruction of Maluco and Ambueno by the Dutch have been obliged to come to these regions with their families and households. Without this assistance they would have suffered severer privations.

10. It has undertaken to provide persons to go [*i.e.*, to the scaffold] with those who suffer under the law, and to bury them; and it takes up the dismembered bodies of those who have suffered, and the bodies of the drowned, burying them in consecrated ground with much care, and showing honor to their bodies and bones, thus greatly edifying the natives.

11. It attends with the necessary secrecy to securing reconciliations between persons at enmity – sometimes of husbands with their wives, and sometimes between other persons; and thus the brethren bring

1604, when it was duly organized, under the charge of a Franciscan lay brother, Fray Diego de Santa Maria. Various grants were made to this institution, at different times, by colonial and local authorities; and in 1671 large and suitable buildings of stone were erected – which, however, were destroyed by fire in 1727. The hospital seems to have retrograded, in extent and management, early in its history; Zúñiga found it in very poor condition, at the end of the eighteenth century. See chapter on "Mineromedicinal waters" of the islands in U. S. Philippine Commission's *Report*, 1900, iii, pp. 217 - 227.

to an end many evils and prevent injuries. They likewise correct many persons of vices of which they have secret knowledge, which without doubt greatly redounds to the service of God our Lord.

12. It attends to the execution of many wills, which are entrusted to it by persons who leave their property to be distributed for pious works and for chaplaincies. Leaving the matter in the care of this Confraternity, they feel certain that their trusts will be executed forever. It is a great consolation to them to know that the execution has been accepted by the Confraternity. In particular, the execution of the wills of poor persons who leave heirs in Nueva España and España, and in Yndia, is accepted by the Confraternity.

13. All of these works of charity are performed by the said Confraternity from the alms which are received from the citizens, from the brethren, and from persons who at death leave them bequests because they see how well is allotted and spent that which is collected. The income is obtained with much pains, because of the smallness of the population. Should your Majesty make a grant to the Confraternity, it could accomplish more in caring for cases of need which every day occur, requiring aid and claiming pity.

PEDRO HURTADO DESQUIVEL, clerk of court.

This is an accurate copy of the original section:

JUAN LOPEZ DE HERNANI

TRADE OF THE PHILIPPINES WITH MEXICO

Report from the Council of State

Sire:

Your Majesty was pleased to order that the enclosed reports from the Council of the Indias and that of Portugal be examined in the Council, and that they should make such recommendations as they deemed proper; and having examined them, the members gave their opinions as follows:

The chief comendador [28] of Leon, in a meeting held at Valladolid, insisted that it was not desirable that there should be trade from Nueva España to the Filipinas on account of the great drain of silver thus caused; it is occasioned by the large profits obtained by investing the silver in the merchandise which comes to those islands from China – partly through the cheapness of these goods, and partly through the great value of silver. He also stated the difficulties which are presented, in that, through this trade, the need for the merchandise from these regions would cease, and with it the dependence of those colonies, which it is so important to preserve. It should be

[28] The name applied to any knight of a military order who received one of the ecclesiastical benefices called *encomiendas*. These were suitably-endowed dignities conferred on knights of those orders.

considered that, although the trade of Nueva España with China should be prohibited, this would be of no use if trade with the Philipinas were left open; for by that means the Chinese will have an outlet for their merchandise. Accordingly it seemed best that this should be prohibited, so that there would be no trade from Nueva España with the Philipinas. But, as it must also be considered that the total prohibition thereof would cause a hindrance to conversion and would put an end to settlement, he thought it best, in order to maintain both the one and the other, that two merchant ships should be permitted to go each year from Nueva España to the Philipinas, of the capacity and under the conditions which are at present in use there. Since, if the people of the Philipinas are able to trade with Macan, there will be the risk of their introducing through that channel a trade with China, and consequently a drain of silver from Nueva España, it seems best not to give an opportunity for this. On the contrary, the decree should be observed which was despatched in the time of the king our lord (who rests in glory), prohibiting the trade between Macan and the Philipinas, for it is to be believed that this was issued after mature deliberation and reflection; for that conduct would be greatly to the satisfaction of the Portuguese, and we would avoid the difficulties of opening that port to the trade from China, as it is so important for these kingdoms to maintain what they hold in Peru and Nueva España. But it would be very desirable to order that there shall be considerable understanding and correspondence between the governors, so that in case the ships from one region make port at the other, driven by the weather, they may be well

received and treated; and also that they may help each other in times of need, with money and whatever shall be necessary of provisions, munitions, and other supplies pertaining to the defense of the land and operations against the enemy.

The Marques de Velada said that if the trade of Nueva España with the Philipinas could be kept within moderate bounds, and if nothing came from China to the Philipinas except what was needed there, he would consider it good; but he regards this as difficult, and therefore supports the chief comendador of Leon.

The Conde de Chinchon said that the preservation of the Indias consisted in this, that, through their need of articles which are not produced there, they always depend upon this country; and it would be the means of losing them if their wants could be supplied elsewhere. To think that if there were trade between Nueva España and the Philipinas there would cease to be any with China would be an evident mistake, and therefore it should be closed. In so far as concerns Macan, order should be given that the decree which has been issued be observed, as the chief comendador of Leon has said. In this state of affairs it has seemed best to him to advise your Majesty that it ought to be carefully considered whether it is expedient that each year there should be carried to Eastern India a million eight-real pieces for articles of so little importance as are those which are brought thence; and what plan could be made to obviate this drain of silver, as we are in such need of it here.

The constable of Castilla said that the reports [from the other councils] discussed only the trade

of the Philipinas with Macan; and it seemed to him that the plan which had been followed should be maintained, as it ought to be changed only after having examined and considered well the pros and cons, and there should be very urgent reasons for making such change.

Your Majesty will order this to be examined and such measures to be taken as shall be most satisfactory. Madrid, December 18, 1607.

[*Endorsed, in the king's hand*: "All has been carefully considered, but the remedy is not easy."]

PASSAGE OF MISSIONARIES VIA THE PHILIPPINES TO JAPAN

Report from the Council of the Indias

Sire:

The Duke de Lerma has written to me, the Conde de Lemos, that your Majesty orders to be immediately examined in this Council the enclosed report from the Council of Portugal concerning the question whether religious from the Philipinas should pass to Japon; and that, with the consideration which the matter demanded, you be advised of his opinion. Complying with what your Majesty orders, it has appeared to us that, in order that the fundamental facts might be understood, it is proper to answer the reasons advanced by the Council of Portugal as a basis for their report, which is in conformity with the decrees issued by their Holinesses Gregory XIII and Clement VIII, and by his Majesty who is in heaven, and by your Majesty: these are to the effect that no religious shall pass to the provinces of Japon from these kingdoms, or from the Western Indias or from the Philipinas, except as they go by way of Yndia, and commanding that if any had passed they should return immediately, and that the governor of the Philipinas should be immediately notified to put this into execution.

The Council of Portugal states – conformably to

what the bishop of Japon writes, who is one of the Society [of Jesus] – that Dayfusama, universal lord of those realms, continues in the same suspicion that his predecessor Taycosama had of the Spaniards from the Philipinas Islands, and those who go from Nueva España, that they are people looking for conquests. He thinks that their principal aim is directed to making themselves lords of the country, as they have done in the Philipinas themselves and in Nueva España; and that what they call preaching the gospel is an artifice, and a means of conquering, as Taicosama wrote to the city of Manila. On this account, also, he had caused the Franciscan religious to be crucified as spies, whose intention was to conquer kingdoms; and therefore no more should be sent there. To make this the stronger, they add an example, in the entrance made there in the year 1602 by sixteen Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian religious, who say that they were not well received by the heathens and Christians who were there.

The second reason is, to cut off the communication of Nueva España with Japon and China, which results in the diversion of a great part of the silver from Nueva España into those kingdoms, on account of the great profit which there is in that trade, to the great prejudice of these kingdoms.

Reply is to be made, presupposing as a certain thing that discalced [*i.e.* Franciscan], Augustinian, and Dominican friars have at various times been readily admitted into Japon, obtaining great results in conversion; and that in the year 1594 there had come a well-known Japanese named Faranda to the city of Manila, who asked for friars. Moreover, Gomez Perez de las Mariñas, governor of the Philipinas,

sent in the capacity of ambassador father Fray Pedro Baptista, a discalced Franciscan, with several religious of his order, to whom Dayfusama, universal lord of the Japanese, extended many favors, and whom he permitted to build a convent in Usaca – a very large city near that of Miaco, where his court is – so that he might preach the holy gospel. Afterward, in October of the year 1597, when the Japanese undertook to destroy, in a province of Japon, the galleon " San Phelipe " – which was going from the Philipinas to Nueva España, laden with merchandise from China of great value, and having more than a hundred Spaniards and other men in the crew – the said Taycosama, to have some excuse for appropriating to himself the contents of the said ship (as he did), gave us to understand that he was suspicious, as has been said, of those Spaniards. It has been learned, however, that a seaman from the said galleon gave occasion for this feeling, when he was asked how the Spaniards had conquered so many countries. Thus far we have not been able to learn with certainty in regard to this, except that it is said that some Portuguese spread this news through the kingdoms of Yndia, for the sake of their own private interests. In confirmation of the suspicion or fear which the tyrant has shown, he has ordered the publication of an edict, in which it is provided that no one should be a Christian; and has crucified the six discalced friars (whom, as before stated, he had treated with favors) and twenty converted Japanese, in the neighborhood of Nangasaqui, to which place the galleon resorts, which ordinarily goes each year from Macao for the Japanese trade. It was there, with one hundred and fifty Portuguese; and the

bishop of Japon then officiated publicly, and there were more than twenty thousand Christian Japanese and a principal college of the Society – whence it is supposed that the reason was greed, under color of a reason of state. For if the intention of the tyrant was to exclude at all points Christianity and its ministers from Japon, he would not have permitted so great a number of fathers of the Society as were residing in that country, with their prelate (several of whom were known to him), and hundreds of thousands of Christian Japanese, contenting himself with the persecution of these few. This is especially so as, in the year following this martyrdom, the conversion of more than 60,000 Japanese was affirmed, a greater number than for many years past taken together. It may be believed that God worked this miracle through the blood shed by those martyrs and their intercession. Since that event, on various occasions religious have entered Japon in the ships of the Japanese themselves, who go to the Philipinas to trade, and express a desire that some religious from the orders there should go. The same Dayfusama, who is now reigning, sent an embassy to the Philipinas seeking friars in order that one of the ports of his island, called Quanto, might be settled by Spaniards. To further this claim, he sent later Fray Jeronimo de Jesus, a discalced friar who had survived his companions the martyrs, for the consolation of the converted, and who had been hidden; accordingly the Audiencia of your Majesty which resides in Manila ordered religious to be sent.

To the second reason, it is answered that thus far it is not known in the Council that there has been any trade from Nueva España or from the Philipinas to

Japon, nor does it even appear that those who are occupied in trade have any need thereof; for to the Philipinas Islands themselves there come so great a number of junks and ships belonging to the Chinese from Chincheo, that there is always a superabundance of merchandise, and to limit this trade your Majesty has already decreed what appears most expedient for his service.

What is known is that the fathers of the Society do not desire other orders than their own to enter into Japon, giving as a reason that others would not know the method which must be followed in preaching to those heathen, whose perversity has need of cunning to overcome it. This the fathers say they know, as they have been occupied in this conversion for fifty years; and they say that there would be great occasion for weakening the belief of the natives in the doctrine which is preached to them, if they saw a diversity in the vestments, rules, and ceremonies. Accordingly, with these arguments they obtained by entreaty the above-mentioned briefs; and, having been opposed by the Dominicans and Franciscans before his Holiness, they finally obtained a brief that in case religious of other orders were to go, it must be by way of Yndia. This is the same as prohibiting it altogether; for in the domains of Portugal the missionaries are not supplied with maintenance, including everything that they need on the journey, as they are in Castilian lands. The road, too, is much longer, and strewn with difficulties; and in it care is taken to embarrass them, and not let them pass – as has been seen several times when religious have gone by way of Yndia, several Dominicans and Augustinians having been stopped at Goa, even after part of

View of Japanese champan; from T. de Bry's *Peregrinationes* (Amsterdame, 1602)

[*From copy in Boston Public Library*]

their sea-stores had been placed on the ship. In the year 1602 the Franciscan friars of Yndia said in response to Fray Pablo de los Martires, who came to seek friars, that they could not send them to Japon. This is answered by saying that the Catholic faith is already old and widely spread in Japon, and it would be a dangerous thing to exclude from its preaching the method which Christ our Lord has left in His gospel, which the mendicant orders observe, and through which have been converted the nations of the greatest power, genius, and learning in the world – among them the Romans, who held dominion over it. And it appears that not without much harm to conscience can obstacles be put in the way of ministers who preach in 66 countries, disposed to receive them, where it is impossible that the fathers of the Society should be sufficient, even to maintain the faithful who are there; for it is understood that [in Japan] they number more than 600,000, and they have not had in past years even 150 fathers, for which reason it was necessary for them to say daily three masses each, and then fail in the service of the sacraments on account of the great number of the faithful and the distance between the places. As for the difference in vestments and rules of the orders, this is answered by the fact that the Japanese have already seen them many times, and now see these in their own country, yet with especial profit. Moreover, those who are continually going to the Philipinas are, it is understood, not only not scandalized by this, but even – considering that in the diversity of religious orders and multitude of religious there is but one confession of faith, one set of sacraments, and one law alone, all submitting to

the Supreme Pontiff as the universal head of the Church – draw therefrom a very strong argument for the truth of the gospel law which is preached to them, especially by people of such ability and understanding as the very fathers who direct the Japanese certify that they are. The emulation of holiness and virtues among the religious orders is of great importance for their benefit and that of the public; and this will cease where there is only one order. The persecution against the faithful could not have taken place, if religious from the other orders had gone there; for it is certain that there would have been other and very severe persecutions before this, if the fathers of the Society alone had been preaching in Japon.

The Portuguese of Yndia have great interests at stake, according to their opinion, in this measure; for it seems to them that, as the presence of the fathers has been a means for their trade with Japon (which amounts each year to more than a million and a half), and the religious from Castilla must be favorable to Nueva España and the Philipinas, and as the traders of those provinces pay for the merchandise, on account of the abundance of silver which they have, a third more than is paid by those from India, they must either be shut out from this trade, or buy so dearly that the profit would be very little. Thus far, as has been said to your Majesty, it is not known that this has happened; but in order to provide for this, and at the same time for the principal aim which your Majesty has, the spread of the holy gospel in regions so remote, and where experience has shown that there is so great a disposition to receive it, and for the preservation of the states which

your Majesty holds in the Western and Eastern Yndias, it has appeared best to the Council that your Majesty should be pleased to order his ambassador who is present in Rome to represent to his Holiness the reasons which exist for opening the way for preaching in Japon, for such religious as may be approved by their superiors and the Council; and therefore he should ask for the revocation of the briefs which oppose this object, leaving it to the general disposal of all the provinces of the world. They also suggest that your Majesty should order that from no part of his kingdom should religious go to Japon without first making port at the city of Manila in the Philipinas Islands, where the governor of the islands and the superiors of the orders, as those who manage this business, shall ascertain at what time and opportunity, and what religious, it is expedient to send over to preach in Japon; and these and no others shall go. The said governor should command that the religious who are to go to Japon shall go in ships belonging to the Japanese themselves, as it is understood that those who have gone up to the present time have done, without permitting that other ships than those of the crown of Castilla should go, under this pretext, to the provinces and realms of Japon – severely punishing those who violate this order.

Your Majesty will order what shall be most for the royal service. Valladolid, May 30, 1606.

Report from the Council of the Indias

Sire:

The Duke de Lerma has written to me, the Conde de Lemos, that your Majesty orders that the enclosed report from the Council of Portugal be examined

in this Council, in regard to the order that there should be no passing to Japon by way of the Philipinas, and that your Majesty be advised of what seems best. In this report the principal purpose seems to be that commerce should be prohibited, by your Majesty's command, in order that the Philipinas may not maintain it with China or Japon. This matter depends very much on what the same Council of Portugal has claimed, and now brings forward as foundation for its claim, which is the prohibition of the entrance of Castilian religious into Japon to preach. At your Majesty's command, the Council replied, in the past year, to another report from the Council of Portugal, in which it proposed in detail the arguments on which it founds its claim. Therefore it seemed best to return the report to your Majesty, together with a letter written to your Majesty by Francisco Peña, auditor of Rota, from which it is apparent how this matter is considered in Rome, and how much that opinion is in conformity with what this Council has advised your Majesty, adding what we have learned since the aforesaid report was sent, from letters from the governor and Audiencia, and investigations made before the aforesaid Audiencia and the archbishop of Manila, and other trustworthy papers which came from the Philipinas and Japon. The emperor of Japon sent to the governor of the islands, asking him very earnestly to send religious to settle in the land of Quanto; and some were therefore sent, and they were very kindly received. Land was given them for houses and hospitals; so they have founded two residences, where they are making great headway in the conversion of the Japanese, and the religious are very well treated. As the emperor him-

self has for three years desired and insisted upon the commerce of the Philipinas with his realms, a ship has accordingly been sent each year from the islands to those of Quanto, with merchandise from China, and various articles of which they have more than enough in the aforesaid [Philippine] islands; and it brought back in return much silver (with which the land of Japon abounds), wheaten flour, dried beef, hemp for cordage, iron, steel, powder, and hafted weapons and other things of great value for the provision and preservation of the aforesaid Philipinas Islands. In those islands it appears of the greatest importance that this commerce be introduced and preserved; because, besides the provision of the aforesaid goods, it is well to keep the king of Japon friendly by this means. For if he were not so he would be the greatest enemy that could be feared, on account of the number and size of his realms, and the valor of the people therein, who are, beyond comparison, the bravest in all India – as has been experienced in the aforesaid islands sometimes, with pirates who have overrun those coasts, doing great harm and hindering the commerce of the other nations. Japon is so anxious to assure and facilitate friendly relations with the said islands that, the king having heard that some Japanese were molesting them with their vessels, he ordered them all to be crucified; and he gave chapas, or decrees, to some religious, in order that with these the ships which went from the islands to Japon might be safe.

Also it was understood that when the bishop of Japon (who belongs to the Society) desired to make known to the religious who were in those lands the last brief of his Holiness, in order for them to depart

from the country in fulfilment of it, it was represented what great difficulties would result from the publication and execution of it, in order that he might wait for an appeal to be taken to his Holiness. For the orders of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. Augustine have nine convents and four hospitals, where they have achieved great results in the conversion; moreover, they were admitted and called thither by the emperor. They find a great number of people disposed to receive the gospel law, and it would be impossible for the fathers of the Society (who are in some kingdoms of Japon) to be sufficient as workmen in so broad and fertile a vineyard. On this account, it would cause great scandal among the converted and those to be converted, to see the opposition of one order to the others, since previously they held them all to be uniform in the purpose of the spreading of the gospel, and the religious to be vassals of one king and subjects of the one and only head of the church. But in spite of the statements of the friars, the bishop ordered the said brief to be published and made known, with its penalties and censures. Councils were held by the orders in the Philipinas and Japon, and they thought that they ought to appeal from the said brief to his Holiness; this was done before the said bishop, in order that his Holiness might understand the state in which affairs were in those lands, and, being better informed, revoke the brief. It seems important, for the decision of this matter, that it be understood, from the description of Japon and from trustworthy accounts, that the preaching of the fathers of the Society, in the more than fifty years since they entered Japon, has not reached to within a hundred miles of the king-

doms of Quanto, where there are some convents of discalced Franciscan friars, nor has the merchandise of the Portuguese done so; but on the contrary the emperor – having a particular fondness for those kingdoms, as being a patrimony of his – at great cost has caused to be carried by land some of the merchandise which the Portuguese brought from China to Japon. So then, neither is the Society limited in the bounds of its preaching, nor is the crown of Portugal in those of its trade; for even if six ships went there, instead of the single one that now goes from Macao each year, all that they should carry would still easily be consumed in the lands which are more than a hundred leguas distant from those of Quanto. For from the island where Nangaçaqui is, until the ship reaches Quanto, there are more than two hundred and twenty leguas of very thickly settled mainland. Granting the prohibition which your Majesty has made that no merchandise beyond a certain stated amount should go from the Philipinas to Nueva España, on account of the great difficulties which result otherwise, it seems well worthy of consideration that goods bought from China in those islands of your Majesty should be diverted to Japon, from which so much silver is and may be obtained for the benefit of your vassals and the increase of their wealth and of your Majesty's exchequer – at least making unnecessary in the Philipinas that which is and may be brought from the lands of Piru and Nueva España, with benefit to both those colonies and the islands. For the ships which go from the Philipinas to Nueva España it is of the greatest importance to have a safe harbor in Japon, in which to repair and supply themselves with the necessities for so long and

dangerous a voyage – because, for not having had it hitherto, great losses have been suffered; and some, such as that of the galleon "San Phelipe," amounted to more than a million. It is more fitting for this purpose and for others that our ships should go to Japon than that theirs should come to the Philipinas, because when they come to those islands they buy from the Chinese, who come there to sell, the merchandise which the Castilians would have bought, enhancing the prices of it, and giving the Chinese for it the silver which they would have given to the subjects of your Majesty; nor is there any remedy therefor, although it has been sought.

As for the entrance of religious, the Council persists in the opinion of their last report, a copy of which is subjoined; but in regard to the prohibition of commerce it changes the opinion which it had reached, on account of the new information. It thinks that for the present your Majesty ought to allow one or two ships to go each year from the Philipinas to the kingdoms of Quanto, at the same time warning the governor that he should manage this matter with the care and prudence necessary, so that your Majesty's purpose may be attained in facilitating and spreading the law of the gospel, and keeping your vassals and realms in peace and quietness, in order that thus they may serve God and your Majesty. Since the Council of Portugal, in its last report, begs your Majesty to discuss this matter jointly with it, that might be done, if it please your Majesty, in order that, the arguments for and against being presented by persons whom your Majesty would choose from both Councils, the decision might be made with greater satisfaction and understanding of

the situation, as the magnitude and importance of the matter demand. Your Majesty will command what may serve you best. Madrid, 31st of March, 1607. [Ten signatures follow.]

Report from the Council of State

Sire:

Your Majesty was pleased to order the Council to examine a report from the Council of Yndia resident in Lisboa, dated December 4, 1605, and another from the Council of Portugal, dated January 31, 1606, which treat of the inadvisability of religious going to the kingdoms of Xapon from the Philipinas, for the reasons advanced; and two others dated May 30, 1606, and March 31, 1607, from the Council of the Yndias, which allege the contrary. The Council after examining these, and calling to mind what was advised on the occasion of other reports from the Council of Portugal and of certain briefs of the Pope, which were laid before them, advised your Majesty of its opinion in this matter – namely, to examine the report and what your Majesty was pleased to decide. And inasmuch as the said advice was given November 2, 1604, in Valladolid, and your Majesty was pleased to answer the Council of Portugal in regard to it, and decreed what was resolved thereon; and now since we have come to advise your Majesty: we advise that, in order to express our opinion, as your Majesty orders, it would be advisable to examine what your Majesty resolved then. Accordingly if your Majesty please, you might order the Conde de Salinas to send your Majesty the resolution taken upon the report of that Council of the year 1604, which was accompanied by the briefs of his Holiness,

so that after examination in this Council, we may more reasonably advise your Majesty of our opinion. Madrid, September 7, 1607. [Six signatures follow].

[*Endorsed*: "+ Officially; September 7, 1607. The Council of State in regard to certain reports from the Councils of Portugal and of the Yndias, of Castilla, as to whether or not religious are to go to Japon by way of the Philipinas." *In a different hand*: "The accompanying report from the Council of Portugal will give information on what is asked here. Also other reports from the same Council, and from that of the Yndias, in regard to matters of the Filipinas, and of Macan, are enclosed. They should be examined together in the Council, and the Council should advise me of their opinion regarding the whole matter."]

[One signature, evidently that of the king, follows].

Report from the Council of State

Sire:

Conformably to what your Majesty was pleased to order, there were examined in the Council the reports and papers which are returned with this, and opinions were expressed as follows:

The chief comendador of Leon said that from the accounts and investigations which the reports from the Council of Portugal disclose, it is gathered that in the preaching of the gospel which is being carried on by those of the Society who reside in Japon, they practice, contrary to its spirit, worldly artifice; for it is said, on the one hand, that they are preaching in

secret, and, on the other, that they maintain a ship in trade and traffic for their support. He considers it very unsuitable that the gospel should go in disguise, and believes that those who preach it should emulate the poverty of the apostles, and should carry on no manner of trade or profit, so that they may attract and convert by the example of the purity of their lives, with no worldly ostentation. This is very fitting for the reputation of the faith and those who preach it, that those who oppose it may not say that they trade. If they adopt this plan, and are so numerous that they can attend to all parts of the country where it is necessary, the going of other orders thither might be dispensed with. But if they are not sufficient to attend to all parts, and that king begs that Franciscan friars should go, the comendador knows no reason why they should not be sent; and the bishops of the Filipinas should be charged to send such religious as are fit for the ministry of preaching. The governor of those islands should be ordered to send them in small vessels, which should only take sufficient provisions for their support, expressly prohibiting that they carry any kind of merchandise, and the trade of the Filipinas with Japon should cease entirely; for in this way would be obviated the difficulties which are represented on the part of the Portuguese, and the desired end of the conversion of souls would be better attained. It would be an easy thing to obtain from the Pope that he should revoke the restriction that none could go except by way of Portuguese Yndia, leaving to the choice of your Majesty all that concerns this affair; for his Holiness may be sure that your Majesty, as the best informed of all, will do what is most fitting

for the propagation of our holy faith. What the Portuguese allege in regard to the religious who went to Japon being missed in the Filipinas is not sufficient; for there will certainly be some who, without being missed there, could go to Japon. Thus, if personal interests and differences would cease, those religious might attend solely to the conversion of those heathen, with the discretion and moderation which is fitting, so as to relieve that king from the suspicion he has, that in that way they are trying to take away his kingdom. For if he is assured of that, and sees that no other than religious come, and that these are engaged in no other business than that of conversion, it is to be hoped in our Lord that he will not hinder it; since by those same documents it is evident that the reason for his having made martyrs of the Franciscan friars was the suspicion which he had that they had other objects to the prejudice of his state. It is likewise fitting that all the religious maintain friendly relations with one another, and be united, and that their duties be not ill performed. For quarrels between them will be of much greater injury and less edification for the heathen than is the diversity of their garb; and, when it is seen that they are all working toward the same end, it will be recognized that all profess the same faith, and that religion is one.

The Marques de Velada said that the reports from the Council of Portugal are at variance with those from the Council of the Yndias; for the former say that in Japon they do not desire Franciscan friars, and the others that they are asking for them. It therefore appears best to him that your Majesty should secure from the Pope a revocation of the clause in the brief which prohibits other religious

from going to Japon unless it be by way of Yndia; and that his Holiness leave it to the choice of your Majesty to send them by the way which shall seem most fitting, as, in regard to the principal point – which is that they should go, whether it be by Yndia or otherwise – they are in accord. Whether they are to go by that or some other route is such a minor consideration that it ought not to depend on that. Accordingly he would order Don Juan de Silva [30] to investigate whether it be true that the king of Japon is asking for Franciscan friars; and if this be so he should not fail to send some, in the manner which has been stated by the chief comendador of Leon. And even if the king does not seek them, let it be known that he will permit them. Moreover, all kinds of trade should be totally prohibited, and the passing of any other people from the Filipinas to Japon, except such religious friars as are not only holy, but judicious and discreet – although these qualities were not displayed by those friars who told the king of Japon that by means of them the Western Yndias had been conquered, because that was sufficient reason for causing their martyrdom, fearing that by the same means his kingdom would be taken away from him. Accordingly it is fitting that those who go should be fully warned not to speak of this, before assuring that king of the amity and kind feel-

[30] After Acuña's death, Rodrigo de Vivéro was sent from Nueva España to govern the Philippines *ad interim*, where he arrived June 15, 1608. He remained less than one year in this post, and was then made governor of Panama. In April, 1609, arrived his successor, Juan de Silva, a member of the Order of Santiago, and distinguished by military service in Flanders. He governed the Philippines for seven years, and died at Malaca, on his way with an expedition to the Spice Islands, on April 19, 1616.

ing of your Majesty, and that you will never attempt anything to his injury. The members of the Society will have an advantage over the friars, in having been so many years in that country, but the latter will have an advantage in not having ships for trade; and it is very fitting that this should be remedied, since the purity with which the gospel ought to be preached will not allow of such sources of profit.

The Conde de Chinchon said that the ill-feeling in those regions between the Castilians and the Portuguese has lasted many years, because the Portuguese have been and are suspicious that the profit of the trade will be taken away from them; and if the fathers of the Society who are in Japon proceed with the caution that they use in England, it is no wonder that they are troubled by the fact that others go [to Japon] who, without underhand measures, endeavor to establish the faith as it should be done, and not in private, or with any mixture of worldly interests. The first thing which it appears to him ought to be done is to procure the revocation of the brief, as has been said, so that it will remain at the free disposition of your Majesty to send religious to Japon when and by such route as your Majesty may judge expedient; and, having procured the revocation, there should be no prohibition of certain Franciscan friars from the Filipinas going there, in the manner in which the chief comendador of Leon has suggested – totally prohibiting commerce, and the passing of people other than religious. In this manner he believes that the Portuguese will be satisfied, and that the fathers of the Society will agree to it, if influence be brought to bear upon the superiors of both orders, so that they may secure agreement between the orders.

The constable of Castilla said that for the present he would not change the order which was given that religious friars should not go from the Filipinas to Japon, and he would only consider the revocation of the brief in which they were prohibited from going by any other route than that by Yndia; because that was nothing else than an attempt of the Council of Portugal to tie your Majesty's hands with the authority of the Pope, and tacitly to exclude the Castilian religious from going there. It is expedient that your Majesty should have this matter at your own disposal, to send them when and by what route is expedient. This would serve as a check, so that those of the Society would take great care as to what they do. It would also be desirable to urge, through the Council of Portugal, that those fathers should enjoy no trade or profit; and to prohibit totally the trade of the Filipinas with Japon. In this way the suspicions and apprehensions of both parties would cease, and by this means your Majesty might be better informed, and by impartial persons, and time would show what was most expedient. Your Majesty will have this examined, and take measures according to your pleasure. Madrid, December 20, 1607.

[*Endorsed, in the hand of the king:* "I am advised concerning all this that I may decree, by one way or another, what is most suitable. Write today secretly to the Marques de Aytona that he shall ask the Pope in my name for the revocation of the order of which mention is here made; and that he shall order another one despatched, leaving to my choice to send the religious who are to go to preach, by the route which appears best to me according to the state of affairs; and charge the Marques to have this despatch sent immediately, as secretly as possible."]

DOCUMENTS OF 1608-09

Annual receipts and expenditures of the Philippine government. Pedro de Caldierva de Mariaca; August 18, 1608.

Decrees regarding way-station for Philippine vessels. Felipe III; September 27, 1608, and May 13, 1609.

Letters to Juan de Silva. Felipe III; May 26 and July 29, 1609.

Expeditions to the province of Tuy. Juan Manuel de la Vega; July 3, 1609.

Petition of a Filipino chief for redress. Miguel Banal; July 25, 1609.

Despatch of missionaries to the Philippines. Diego Aduarte, and others; [1608-09?].

SOURCE: All these documents are obtained from the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla.

TRANSLATIONS: The first, fourth, and fifth documents are translated by James A. Robertson; the first decree in the second, by Henry B. Lathrop, of the University of Wisconsin; the rest, by Robert W. Haight.

ANNUAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT

STATEMENT OF THE ANNUAL INCOMES AND SOURCES OF PROFIT OF HIS MAJESTY IN THESE PHILIPINAS ISLANDS

Tributes from his Majesty's encomiendas

Tributes		*Common gold*
3U359	In the encomienda of the coast of this city of Manila, his Majesty has three thousand three hundred and fifty-nine tributes. The tributes are each one peso, besides the two reals for the *situado*, and amount to the same number of pesos.	3U359 pesos, — tomins.
U533	In the encomienda of the villages of Çapa, Santa Ana, and Caruya, there are five hundred and thirty-three tributes. .	U533 pesos, — tomins.
	From the wandering Indians of the said coast and of this city of Manila, a greater or less sum is collected annually, which accordingly approximates to one hundred	

Tributes		*Common gold*
U100	tributes annually. . .	U100 pesos, — tomins.
805	In the encomienda of the villages of San Miguel and San Francisco, in Laguna de Bay, there are eight hundred and five tributes, or a like number of pesos. .	U805 pesos, — tomins.
U894	In the encomienda of Lumban, Paete, and Longos in the said Laguna, there are eight hundred and ninety-four tributes. . .	U894 pesos, — tomins.
1U364½	In the encomienda of Nayun and Tayavas there are one thousand three hundred and sixty-four and one-half tributes, or one thousand three hundred and sixty-four pesos and four tomins. .	1U364 pesos, 4 tomins.
U275	In the encomienda of Calilaya there are two hundred and seventy-five tributes, or a like number of pesos. . .	U275 pesos, — tomins.
U711	In the encomienda of Tuley and Maragondon there are seven hundred and eleven tributes, or a like number of pesos. . .	U711 pesos, — tomins.
	In the encomienda of Mindoro, there are two thousand and ninety-	

Tributes		*Common gold*
2U091	one tributes. . . .	2U091 pesos, — tomins.
	In the encomienda of La Panpanga there are four thousand three hundred and seven and one-half tributes, or four thousand three hundred and seven pesos and	
4U307½	four tomins. . . .	4U307 pesos, 4 tomins.
	In the encomienda of the villages of Agoo and Alingayen, in the province of Pangasinan, there are eight hundred and twenty-four tributes. In this province the tributes amount each to ten reals, thus making a total of one thousand	
U824	and thirty pesos. . .	1U030 pesos, — tomins.
	In the encomienda of Binalatonga, in the said province of Pangasinan, there are four hundred and thirty-one tributes, which, at ten reals, amount to five hundred and thirty-eight pesos and six	
U431	tomins.	U538 pesos, 6 tomins.
	In his Majesty's encomiendas in the province of Ylocos, where the tributes are also ten reals, there are four thousand seven hundred and eighty-five and one-half tributes, which amount to five thousand	

Tributes		*Common gold*
4U785½	nine hundred and eighty-one pesos and seven tomins. . .	5U981 pesos, 7 tomins.
2U668	In the encomiendas of Camarines there are two thousand six hundred and sixty-eight tributes at one peso.	2U668 pesos, — tomins.
	In the province of Çibu, his Majesty owns the encomienda of the island of Compot and Cagayan, the tribute of which has not been collected for three years, as it is in revolt.	
2U400	In the encomienda of Bohol and Bantayan in the said province of Çebu – which was apportioned to the royal crown this year, one thousand six hundred and eight, because of the death of Don Pedro de Gamboa, its former owner; and which his Majesty enjoys since the twenty-second of January of this said year – there are two thousand four hundred tributes at one peso.	2U400 pesos, — tomins.
3U624	In the encomienda of Panay and Oton there are three thousand six hundred and twenty-four tributes at one peso. . . .	3U624 pesos, — tomins.

Tributes		*Common gold*
U382	In the village of Baybay, on the river of this city, three hundred and eighty-two tributes are collected from Christian Sangleys.	U382 pesos, — tomins.
1U500	There are always a varying number of infidel Sangleys living in the Parian of this city; as for the last collections, they amount to one thousand five hundred tributes.	1U500 pesos, — tomins.
32U395½		33U905 pesos, 5 tomins.

Situados of all the encomiendas in these islands

	Common gold
The situado[89*] of his Majesty's encomiendas above mentioned amounts to eight thousand and ninety-eight pesos and seven tomins, at the rate of two reals for each tribute – the tributes amounting to thirty-	

[89*] *Situado* is used here to mean the extra income from the encomiendas which is obtained by increasing the tribute from eight reals to ten. This was done at the time when Gomez Perez Dasmariñas was sent to govern the Philippines; see his instructions (VOL. VII, pp. 145, 146), and cf. Morga's *Sucesos*, chap. viii (VOL. XVI of this series; and Hakluyt Society's trans., pp. 325, 326). The two reals thus gained were to be thus applied: one-half real, to pay the obligations of the tithes; one and one-half reals, for the pay of soldiers, etc.

Prof. E. G. Bourne says: "Many of the Spanish colonies

Common gold

two thousand three hundred and ninety-five and one-half. . . . . 8U098 pesos, 7 tomins.

The situados of the encomiendas of individuals in these islands amount to twenty-three thousand two hundred pesos. 23U200 pesos.

31U298 pesos, 7 tomins.

Tithes of gold

The tithes of gold (of which the tenth is taken in these islands) are worth on an average, considering former years, eight hundred pesos. . . . . U800 pesos, — tomins.

Ecclesiastical tithes

Of the ecclesiastical tithes of this archbishopric of Manila and of the three bishoprics of the islands, there are collected annually, on an average, one thousand pesos; for, although they have been worth one thousand one hundred pesos or one thousand two hundred pesos, in certain years, they ap-

received regular situados from the crown to make up their annual deficits. The word may mean subsidy, appropriation, rent, or income, according to the context." Humboldt mentions – in *New Spain* (Black's trans.), iv, pp. 228, 229 – the situados, "remittances of specie annually made to other Spanish colonies" from the treasury of Mexico, which in 1803 amounted to 3,500,000 piastres. These remittances from Mexico of course ceased when that colony revolted from Spain and became a republic (1823).

Still another meaning of *situado* is given by Bowring (*Philippine Islands*, pp. 98, 99): "As it is, the Philippines have made, and continue to make, large contributions to the mother country, generally in excess of the stipulated amount which is called the *situado*."

Common gold

proximate to the said sum, according to the present. . . . . 1U000 pesos, — tomins.

Import and export duties

The import duties on the Chinese merchandise entering this city, amounted, this said year of six hundred and eight, to thirty-eight thousand, two hundred and eighty-eight pesos, four tomins, and two granos. In this matter no exact figures can be given, because it is more or less, according to the amount of merchandise brought annually by the Sangleys. . . . . 38U288 pesos, 4 tomins, 2 granos.

The import duties and freight-charges on the goods brought from Nueva España, and entering this city are usually worth five hundred pesos, or thereabout, because the citizens of these islands to whom the goods are consigned have received the concession of not paying duties on goods to the value of three hundred pesos for the married person, and one hundred and fifty pesos for the single person; and because the bulk of these said goods is to be used for their households and comfort. . . . . U500 pesos, — tomins.

The duties on the goods exported from this city to the said Nueva España are usually worth fourteen thousand pesos. In this

Common gold

matter no exact figures can be given, for it varies according to the value of the merchandise. . . . . 14U000 pesos.

52U788 [pesos], 4 [tomins], 2 [granos].

Fines forfeited to the royal treasury

Seven hundred and eight pesos have been paid into the royal treasury this year from fines forfeited to the royal treasury. U708 pesos, — tomins.

Expenses of justice and courts

From the expenses of justice and courts, sixty pesos have been paid into the royal treasury this year. . . . . U060 pesos, — tomins.

Amount of the tributes. . .	33U905 pesos, 5 tomins.
The situados.	31U298 pesos, 7 tomins.
The tithes of gold. . . .	U800 pesos.
Ecclesiastical tithes. . . .	1U000 pesos.
Import and export duties. .	52U788 [pesos], 4 [tomins], 2 [granos].
Fines forfeited to the royal treasury.	U708 pesos.
Expenses of justice and the courts.	U060 pesos.
	120U561 pesos, — tomins, 2 granos.

All the above incomes total one hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and sixty-one pesos and two granos of common gold.

STATEMENT OF THE ORDINARY EXPENSE INCURRED BY HIS MAJESTY IN THESE ISLANDS

	Common gold
The president, governor, and captain-general of these islands receives an annual salary of eight thousand pesos de minas, or thirteen thousand two hundred and thirty-five pesos and two tomins. . .	13U235 pesos, 2 tomins.
Four auditors and one fiscal receive each two thousand pesos de minas, which total sixteen thousand five hundred and forty-nine pesos and six granos. . .	16U549 pesos, 6 granos.
One chaplain of the royal Audiencia, three hundred pesos. . . .	U300 pesos.
Three royal officials with five hundred and ten thousand maravedis apiece, which amounts to five thousand six hundred and twenty-five pesos.	5U625 pesos.
One chief clerk with a salary of three hundred pesos.	U300 pesos.
Another clerk, for military affairs, with a salary of two hundred pesos. .	U200 pesos.
Another clerk, for matters of trade, with the same salary.	U200 pesos.
One executioner, with one hundred and fifty pesos.	U150 pesos.
One notary, with two hundred pesos.	U200 pesos.

Common gold

One galley-purser, with one hundred pesos. . . . . U100 pesos.

Alcaldes-mayor and corregidors

The alcalde-mayor of Tondo, with a salary of three hundred pesos. . . U300 pesos.
Of Bulacan, with another three hundred pesos. . . . . U300 pesos.
Of La Panpanga, the same. . . U300 pesos.
Of Laguna de Bay, the same. . U300 pesos.
Of Calilaya, the same. . . . U300 pesos.
Of Balayan, the same. . . . U300 pesos.
Of Pangasinan, the same. . . U300 pesos.
Of Ylocos, the same. . . . U300 pesos.
Of Carmarines, the same. . . U300 pesos.
Of Arevalo, the same. . . U300 pesos.
Of Cibu, the same. . . . U300 pesos.
Corregidor of Calamianes, with two hundred and fifty pesos. . . . U250 pesos.
Of Maribeles, with one hundred and fifty pesos. . . . . U150 pesos.
Of Mindoro, one hundred pesos. U100 pesos.
Of Catanduanes, one hundred and fifty pesos. . . . . U150 pesos.
Of Ybalon, two hundred pesos, because it serves also as the outpost of Capul. . U200 pesos.
Of Panay, another two hundred pesos. U200 pesos.
Leyte, one hundred and fifty pesos. U150 pesos.
Butuan, two hundred pesos. . U200 pesos.
Alcalde-mayor of Cagayan, three hundred pesos. . . . . U300 pesos.

Common gold

Various salaries

One assayer and appraiser, with four hundred pesos. . . . . U400 pesos.

One navy storekeeper, two hundred pesos. . . . . U200 pesos.

One clerk, for the warehouses of this city, with one hundred and fifty pesos. . U150 pesos.

One shore master, with a salary of six hundred pesos. . . . . U600 pesos.

One clerk, for the warehouses of Cavite, with one hundred and forty pesos. . U140 pesos.

One chief of galley construction, with five hundred pesos. . . . . U500 pesos.

Another carpenter, with two hundred pesos. . . . . U200 pesos.

One hundred and sixty Indian carpenters at one-half real and their board daily; their wages amount annually to three thousand six hundred and fifty pesos. 3U650 pesos.

One master blacksmith, with five hundred pesos. . . . . U500 pesos.

The Indian smiths who serve in the smithies for various wages, now more and now less, which amount to one thousand one hundred pesos. . . . . 1U100 pesos.

The charcoal used in the smithies and in the founding of artillery will amount to one thousand pesos. . . . . 1U000 pesos.

One artillery and bell-founder, with a salary of one thousand pesos. . 1U000 pesos.

In the said founding eight hundred pesos will be spent yearly in paying the Indians

Common gold

who work at it, and in other petty expenses. . . . . U800 pesos.

One master powder-maker, with six hundred pesos. . . . . U600 pesos.

In the manufacture of powder, twenty or twenty-five mortars are used, which are manipulated by slaves of private persons, who place them there for evil conduct; and nothing but their board is given them.

Four coopers and one workman – the former with wages of three hundred pesos apiece, besides their rations of rice; and the workman, with forty-eight pesos: all together amounting to one thousand two hundred and forty-eight pesos. . . 1U248 pesos.

Six calkers, with wages of three hundred pesos apiece, besides their rations of rice, which amount to one thousand eight hundred pesos. . . . . 1U800 pesos.

At the time of careening and repairing the ships, and for other extraordinary matters in this trade of the calkers, some receive daily wages of two pesos and two and one-half pesos apiece, which will amount to one thousand five hundred pesos annually. . . . . 1U500 pesos.

There are sixty sailors, or two more or less, who are kept here. As for those who come in vessels from Nueva España, they serve in the port of Cavite, and in the warehouses; and sail in fragatas used to carry rice, rigging, pitch, and other articles which

Common gold

are offered and taken to the said warehouses. They receive wages of one hundred and fifty pesos, besides the rations of rice, which amount to nine thousand pesos. 9U000 pesos.

There are also other sailors and other workmen who come in the ships from Nueva España, and take from here a certification of their services here, by virtue of which they are paid in Mexico; while nothing more than their rations of rice are paid them here, which amount to three fanégas of unwinnowed rice apiece per month, and some additional aid from year to year, and between the departure of the vessels. The total will amount to eight thousand pesos. . . . . 8U000 pesos.

There are three pilots, who are experienced in the navigation between these islands and the mainland, for some voyages that are usually made to the mainland near these islands, and who receive six hundred pesos apiece, or one thousand eight hundred pesos . . . . . 1U800 pesos.

In the royal warehouses of this city, ten Indians generally serve from month to month. They receive apiece one peso per month, and their board, which amounts to one hundred and twenty pesos. . U120 pesos.

In the fragatas and other vessels of his Majesty which ply amid these islands eighty Indians are employed from month to month, each receiving one peso per month and their

Common gold

board, which amounts to nine hundred and sixty pesos. . . . . U960 pesos.

For the service of the port of Cavite and its vessels, sixty Indians are generally drafted each month. They are paid six reals per month and their board, a total of five hundred and forty pesos. . . U540 pesos.

To three Indian rope-makers who assist in the rope-factory at Manila, where the hemp rigging is made, are paid total annual wages of one hundred and fifty pesos. U150 pesos.

Each month thirty Indians work month by month, in this rope factory, to whom are paid six reals per month and their rations of rice, a total of two hundred and seventy pesos. . . . . U270 pesos.

Purchases

The black rigging and that made from abacá in Balayan for the ships and galleys will amount to four thousand pesos. 4U000 pesos.

Every year hemp brought from Japon is bought for rigging, which from year to year will amount to one thousand five hundred pesos . . . . . 1U500 pesos.

One thousand six hundred quintals of pitch, at ten reals per quintal, are also used annually, which amounts to two thousand one hundred and twenty-five pesos 2U125 pesos.

The saltpeter purchased for this camp will average from year to year one thousand

Common gold

eight hundred pesos. Some years it will amount to more or less . . . 1U800 pesos.

The bonote [40] purchased to calk the vessels [going to New Spain?] and other ships will amount to two hundred and seventy pesos U270 pesos.

Arquebus fuses, one hundred and fifty pesos . . . . . U150 pesos.

The cocoa-oil purchased for the churches where the sacraments are administered amounts to two hundred and fifty pesos U250 pesos.

The fish-oil and galagal for the careening and repairing of the ships amounts to nine hundred pesos . . . . . U900 pesos.

Six hundred picos of iron, at various prices are used in addition to that brought by sail from Nueva España, which will amount to two thousand pesos. . . . . 2U000 pesos.

Item: Four hundred picos of nails, which, at the least price, is seven pesos [per pico], amount to two thousand eight hundred pesos . . . . . 2U800 pesos.

The canvas bought annually for the sails of the ships and other vessels, exclusive of those for the galleys (which is included in gross expense of those vessels), amounts from year to year to six thousand pieces at three reals apiece, which makes a total of two thousand two hundred and fifty pesos . . . . . 2U250 pesos.

For the other trifling expenses incurred in

[40] The husk surrounding the cocoanut; it is used for making cordage and calking vessels.

Common gold

building each year, to which, as they are various, no name can be given, are spent two thousand pesos . . . . . 2U000 pesos.

The purchases of timbers and ribs and their carriage to the port of Cavite and other ports, for the ships made and repaired, will amount to two thousand two hundred pesos . . . . . 2U200 pesos.

Likewise for the food supplies bought annually for the voyage of the ships to Nueva España, and other trifles, are spent eleven thousand pesos . . . . . 11U000 pesos.

The rice purchased yearly, and collected from the tributes, amounts to fourteen or fifteen thousand pesos for the support of the people in [government] service, and is given them in place of board and rations. To each one is given the amount that he must have according to his work and contract. Six thousand fanégas of this is given to the orders and hospitals, which his Majesty has ordered to be given them annually. Of the above quantity of fifteen thousand pesos, two thirds, or ten thousand pesos, are not mentioned here; for the other third is used in the galleys, of whose expense a report is made later, and in that report enters this third part which is still to be mentioned 10U000 pesos.

The artillery balls bought annually from Japon amount yearly to six hundred pesos . . . . . U600 pesos.

Common gold

The lead bought for the musket and arquebus balls amounts on an average to one thousand five hundred pesos . 1U500 pesos.

The copper used in founding the artillery is computed at one thousand pesos annually . . . . . 1U000 pesos.

The tin and other metals for the mixture amount to another thousand pesos 1U000 pesos.

Salaries and expenses among the ecclesiastics, and in the churches and doctrinas [i.e., missions]

Archbishop of Manila, with an annual salary of four thousand one hundred and twenty-five pesos . . . . . 4U125 pesos.

Bishop of Cibu, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight . . . 1U838 pesos.

Bishop of Cagayan, the same . 1U838 pesos.

Bishop of Camarines, the same . 1U838 pesos.

The dean of Manila, six hundred pesos U600 pesos.

The archdeacon, five hundred pesos U500 pesos.

The precentor, another five hundred pesos . . . . . U500 pesos.

The schoolmaster, another five hundred pesos . . . . . U500 pesos.

The treasurer, another five hundred pesos . . . . . U500 pesos.

Four canons, with salaries of four hundred pesos apiece, which amounts to one thousand six hundred pesos . 1U600 pesos.

Two racioneros[41] with three hundred

[41] A prebendary who enjoys the benefice called *racion*.

Common gold

pesos apiece, amounting to six hundred pesos . . . . . U600 pesos.

Two medio-racioneros,[42] with two hundred pesos apiece . . . . . U400 pesos.

One chaplain of the college of Santa Potenciana, with three hundred pesos U300 pesos.

To the convent of San Agustin in this city, six hundred pesos and six hundred fanégas of rice, for six religious who are engaged there in instruction; given by decree of his Majesty . . . . . U600 pesos.

To the above convent, seven hundred pesos annually, which sum is the situados from two encomiendas, given for the building of the convent, until the fulfilment of three of his Majesty's decrees – one of which grants ten thousand ducados, another six thousand, and the third two thousand U700 pesos.

Each of the two convents of St. Dominic and of the Society of Jesus are given four hundred pesos and four hundred fanégas of rice for four religious, which amount to eight hundred pesos . . . . U800 pesos.

And although his Majesty orders the same to be given to the convent of St. Francis they neither accept nor wish it.

To the convent of Santisimo Nombre de Jesus, in Cibu, are given annually two hundred pesos and two hundred fanégas of rice. That convent was the first one founded. U200 pesos.

In the doctrinas of the encomiendas be-

[42] The prebendary immediately subordinate to the racionero.

Common gold

longing to his Majesty in these islands (which were mentioned in the statement of the incomes), there are fifty-eight religious who administer instruction therein; and, according to the stipend given to each one, the total amounts to seven thousand and seventy-one pesos . . . . . 7U071 pesos.

To six parish priests and their sacristans, located in the six Spanish settlements – namely, Manila, Caceres, Segovia, Arebalo, Villa Fernandina, and Cibu – are given salaries of fifty thousand maravedis to each priest, and twenty-five thousand to each sacristan, making a total of one thousand six hundred and fifty-four pesos, three tomins, and two granos . . . . . 1U654 pesos, 3 tomins, 2 granos.

Three other parish priests and two sacristans, for the towns of Cavite and La Hermita de Guia, and for the natives in Manila and those outside its walls, receive a total of seven hundred pesos . . . . U700 pesos.

It appears that there has been excessive expense hitherto in the building of churches; but at present there is not so much, because there is not given to any church that is being rebuilt that part [of the expense] pertaining to his Majesty – and which his Majesty should have paid – in the encomiendas of private persons. For the churches in the lands of the royal crown the amount averages four thousand pesos an-

Common gold

nually . . . . . 4U000 pesos.

For the ornaments given to the doctrinas of the encomiendas apportioned to the royal crown, exclusive of missal-books and other articles from Nueva España, six hundred pesos . . . . . U600 pesos.

To the three convents of St. Augustine, Santo Domingo, and the Society of Jesus, are given medicines according to his Majesty's decree. This amounts annually to six hundred pesos. . . . . U600 pesos.

Item: Six hundred Castilian ducados, given to the Manila cathedral, by decree of his Majesty – five hundred for music and the verger, and one hundred for the building of the church. . . . . U85 pesos.

Item: Four hundred pesos, to be given annually to the said cathedral, by decree of his Majesty, for six years, for wine, wax, and other things . . . . . U400 pesos.

Item: Five hundred ducados, given annually by order of Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas, former governor of these islands, to the native hospital of this city. This amounts to six hundred and eighty-seven pesos and four tomins. Further, one thousand five hundred fanégas of rice, one thousand five hundred fowls, and a number of coverlets for the sick . . . U687 pesos, 4 [tomins].

Item: To the hospital of Cagayan, three hundred pesos annually, by order of Doctor

Common gold

Santiago de Vera, former governor of these islands . . . . . U300 pesos.

Extraordinary expenses

On his Majesty's account, a vessel is annually despatched to the kingdom of Japon with an embassy and present to the king. This, with other embassies to various other kings and lords, and many other trifling matters, will amount to six thousand pesos annually . . . . . 6U000 pesos.

Likewise there is another expense of the two salaries paid at the same time to a governor, auditor, or royal official; for from their departure from España until their arrival here the salary of each is paid to him, as well as to the official here, so that two salaries are paid at the same time for one office. These amount annually to about two thousand pesos. . . . . 2U000 pesos.

The salaries paid to the agents who collect the tributes of his Majesty's encomiendas, and the situados of individuals, in accordance with what each one collects, and the commission given him, amount to one thousand six hundred pesos . [1U600 pesos]

Expenses of the soldiers and their officers

One master-of-camp, with a salary of one thousand six hundred and fifty-three pesos. 1U653 [pesos]

This camp of Manila has five captains,

Common gold

each receiving a salary of four hundred and twenty pesos, which amount to two thousand one hundred pesos. . . . [2U100 pesos].

Five alferezes, with a salary of two hundred and forty pesos apiece, which amount to one thousand two hundred pesos 1U200 [pesos]

Five sergeants with one hundred and twenty pesos apiece, which amount to six hundred pesos . . . . . U600 [pesos]

Five drummers, with seventy-two pesos apiece, which amount to three hundred and sixty pesos . . . . . U360 [pesos]

Five fifers, with the same pay U360 [pesos]

Five shield-bearers, with the same pay . . . . . U360 [pesos]

Also five standard-bearers, with the same pay . . . . . U360 [pesos]

At present there are also two captains, two alferezes, two sergeants, two drummers, two fifers, two shield-bearers, and two standard-bearers, who all receive the same pay as those above – but they do not draw it in the lump but only for extraordinary expenses – who were appointed for the reënforcement of the Pintados.

Item: One commanding officer of this reënforcement, with eight hundred pesos' pay annually. . . . . [800 pesos]

Item: One sargento-mayor, with the same pay as the captains above-mentioned.

His adjutant, with the same pay as that of this camp.

Common gold

According to the last musters made, there are five hundred and sixteen foot soldiers, of whom one hundred and four lately departed for the said reënforcement of the Pintados. Among them are included fourteen corporals, twelve halberdiers of the captain-general's guard, and those serving in the fort of Santiago. At the rate of six pesos apiece per month, this amounts to thirty-seven thousand one hundred and fifty-two pesos annually . . . . 37U152 pesos.

Item: At the option of the captain-general, one thousand pesos is distributed among all the soldiers, ten pesos being given to each soldier whom the captain-general wishes to favor. . . . . 1U000 pesos.

Item: There are one hundred musketeers among all this soldiery, each of whom receives two pesos more each month than the pay of the arquebusiers of infantry. This amounts to two thousand four hundred pesos . . . . . 2U400 pesos.

Item: There are fourteen corporals, each of whom receives twelve pesos more per year than the pay of the infantrymen. This amounts to one hundred and sixty-eight pesos . . . . . U168 pesos.

There is an artillery-captain in the camp, with an annual salary of four hundred and twenty pesos . . . . . U420 pesos.

An adjutant of the sargento-mayor, with one hundred and eighty pesos' pay U180 pesos.

Common gold

One campaign barrachel,[48] with the same pay . . . . . U180 pesos.

One head drummer, with seventy-two pesos . . . . . U072 pesos.

One captain of the guard of the captain-general, with two hundred and forty pesos. U240 pesos.

One corporal of the said guard, with eighty-four pesos . . . . . U084 pesos.

In the presidio of the town of Arevalo are one sergeant and twenty-nine infantrymen, with the same pay as the others, which amounts to two thousand two hundred and eight pesos . . . . . 2U208 pesos.

In the presidio of Cibu are a captain, alferez, sergeant, drummer, fifer, shield-bearer, standard-bearer, and eighty-three infantrymen, all with the pay above mentioned for the others. The total amounts to seven thousand and forty-four pesos . 7U044 pesos.

Item: One adjutant of the sargento-mayor, with ninety-six pesos . . U096 pesos.

In the presidio of Cagayan are a sargento-mayor, and another sergeant, each drawing ninety-six pesos; and forty-seven infantrymen, with the same pay as the others. The total amounts to three thousand five hundred and seventy-six pesos. . . . . 3U576 pesos.

In this camp there are usually twelve artillerymen, who serve in the fortresses, ships, and on other occasions of the camp.

[48] *Barrachel*: the alguacil-mayor. This word is now obsolete.

Common gold

They draw pay of two hundred pesos apiece, the total amounting to two thousand four hundred pesos, beside their rations of rice. . . . . 2U400 pesos.

In the districts of Calamianes and Leyte are eight infantrymen, whose pay amounts to five hundred and seventy-six pesos. U576 pesos.

By virtue of one of his Majesty's decrees, brought by Governor Don Pedro de Acuña, and of a clause of the instructions received here by Don Francisco Tello, the said Don Pedro de Acuña began to rebuild the galleys, and, as appears, built four galleys. After having often adjusted the expenses incurred by his Majesty annually in salaries, food, and other expenses of galleys, the expense is found always to reach six thousand pesos per galley. At present there are two eighteen-bench galliots, the expenses of which, likewise adjusted, amount to four thousand five hundred pesos apiece, a total of nine thousand pesos. . . . 9U000 pesos.

Item: There is usually one sentry-post in the island of Maribeles, which receives two hundred and forty pesos for the pay of the Indians serving in it, besides the rice given them as rations. . . . U240 pesos.

Castellans

One castellan of the fort of Santiago in this city of Manila, with a salary of eight hundred pesos annually. . . . U800 pesos.

	Common gold
One lieutenant, with pay of three hundred pesos.	U300 pesos.
Item: One sergeant, with one hundred and twenty pesos; one corporal, with eighty-four pesos; a drummer and fifer, with seventy-two pesos' pay apiece; all amounting to three hundred and forty-eight pesos.	U348 pesos.
In Cagayan, a governor of the fortress, with title of captain, who draws a salary of two hundred pesos.	U200 pesos.
One lieutenant, with ninety-six pesos.	U096 pesos.
In Arevalo there is another governor of the fort, with two hundred pesos. .	U200 pesos.
In Cibu is another governor of the fort, with two hundred pesos. . .	U200 pesos.
One lieutenant with ninety-six pesos.	U096 pesos.

Expenses.	255U578 pesos, 1 [tomin], 8 [granos].
Incomes.	120U561 pesos, 2 [granos].
Excess of expenses over incomes. .	135U017 pesos, 1 [tomin], 6 [granos].

The incomes total one hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and sixty-one pesos and two granos; and the expenses two hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and seventy-eight pesos, one tomin, and eight granos of common gold. In conformity to this, the said expenses exceed the said incomes by

one hundred and thirty-five thousand and seventeen pesos, one tomin, and six granos.

The above statement was drawn from the royal books in our charge, at the order of Don Rodrigo de Bibero, president, governor, and captain-general of these islands. Manila, August eighteen, in the year one thousand six hundred and eight.

PEDRO DE CALDIERVA DE MARIACA
ALONSO DESPIA SSARAVIA

DECREES REGARDING WAY-STATION FOR PHILIPPINE VESSELS

The King: To Don Luis de Velasco,[44] my viceroy, governor, and captain-general of the provinces of Nueva España. Your predecessor in the government of those provinces, the Marques de Montes Claros, informed me by a letter of May 24 of last year that he had received my decree of August 19, one thousand six hundred and six, in which were contained the directions to be followed by him in the opening to navigation and the settlement of the new port of Monte Rey, discovered by Sevastian Vizcayno on the voyage from Nueva España to the Philipinas Islands. He stated that the decree could not be carried out in any respect, since it reached his hands when the trading fleet for those islands had already set sail, and since Sevastian Vizcayno – whom I had commanded to undertake that voyage and found the colony, as being the discoverer of the said port – had departed for that kingdom in the fleet of that year. He stated that with a view,

[44] He had filled this post before, during 1590-95 (VOL. VII, p. 230); he succeeded Montesclaros on July 2, 1607, and governed Nueva España until June 12, 1611, when he returned to Spain as president of the Council of the Indias. Already aged, he did not long survive this promotion. He established many reforms in Nueva España, and showed great humanity in his treatment of the Indians.

above all, to reaching a decision in regard to what must be done for the prosecution of this business, it seemed to him well to inform me of what he had heard, and of what had been brought before him with reference to the matter. He took for granted that it was of great importance to discover a port where the ships returning from the Filipinas might stop to refit; for on so long a voyage the greatest part of the danger is due to the lack of a place where the injuries received in the voyage may be repaired. If no more suitable place should be found, he said, it would be advisable to make use of the port of Monte Rrey, of which he had been notified; but, to understand better the importance of this port, it would be well to notice that according to the survey made by the said Sevastian Vizcayno it seems to be in latitude thirty-seven, on the coast known as the coast of Nueva España, which runs from Cape Mendocino to Acapulco. Now while it is true that most of the ships on his voyage sight land within one or two degrees of that place, still, it must be understood that they always regard themselves as being at the end of their voyage and out of danger on the day when they reach there. This is so true that there have been ships which, when they were at the mouth of the harbor of Monte Rey, decided, as soon as they recognized it, not to enter it, but kept on their voyage with all sails spread. They felt that as soon as they sighted land anywhere they could go on, and, with favorable weather, reach the harbor of Acapulco in twenty-five or thirty days. The accidents and injuries caused by hurricanes – which are the things that place ships in jeopardy, and which oblige them to return to their port of departure, with so

much loss – ordinarily occur from the time when they pass the cape of Spiritu Santo on the island of Manila, all along the chain of the Ladrones until they pass the end of Japon at the point called the Cape of Sestos and reach latitude thirty-two or thirty-three; consequently, the ship which receives such injuries always does so before entering the great gulf of Nueva España, and can find no place of refuge without returning to Japon or to the Philipinas. If its condition should permit it to sight the coast of Cape Mendocino after fifty days (the usual length of time), its troubles would be practically over. On this account, and since the harbor of Monte Rrey is so situated that when the ships from the Philipinas reach it they feel that their voyage to the harbor of Acapulco within twenty-five or thirty days is certain, as has been said, and since it has never been known to occur that a ship after sighting land has been obliged to put back, therefore the Marques declares that, as the object is to provide ships with a harbor where they may land, or at least touch and refit, the harbor should be provided, or at least be sought, where it may be of use before the vessels enter the great gulf of Nueva España. This he urges the more because there are two islands in latitude thirty-four or thirty-five, named Rrica de Oro and Rrica de Plata,[45] to the west of the harbor

[45] That is, "rich in gold," and "rich in silver:" two mythical islands, often mentioned in documents of that time; thus named, according to Gemelli Careri, because some earth taken from them, accidentally heated on a ship, was found to contain grains of precious metal. There is an interesting mention of these islands on La Frechette's "Chart of the Indian Ocean" (published by W. Faden, London, 1803). They are placed thereon in 32° and 34°, N. lat., and in 160° and 164° E. long., respectively, with the following legend: "Kin-sima, la Rica de Oro, or Gold Island. Gin-

of Monte Rey and in almost the same latitude though very distant in longitude. Those who have undertaken that voyage and have made it declare that both these islands are very well suited to be places of refitting for the ships from the Philipinas, and that it would be advantageous to find them again and colonize one of them for this purpose. Regarding this as certain, the Marques thinks that the exploration and colonizing in question should be mainly at these islands, being committed to some person of competence, care, and fidelity. For this he judges that the said Sevastian Vizcayno would be suitable, because he would know, as well as anyone could, the way to the harbor of Monte Rrey, being already acquainted with it. If the commission were entrusted to him, it would be well for him to go from Acapulco as commander of the ships for the Philipinas, returning from Manila with two small and lightly-laden ships for no other purpose than the discovery; for if he were to return as commander [of the trading fleet] the merchandise and stuffs of the inhabitants of Manila would run great risk of being detained on the voyage, and of suffering some loss, and the owners would have a right to recover damages from my royal treasury. Then after the new harbor which is affirmed to exist shall have been discovered, Sevastian Vizcayno may go as commander in the year following, and may make a beginning of refitting a station there with the trading

sima, la Rica de Plata, or Silver Island. These Two Islands, which are Known to the Japanese, are laid down according to the report of the former Spanish Navigators; they did imagine till the middle of the last century, that Gin-sima and Kin-sima were the Land of Ophir, since it could not be found in the Isles of Solomon."

ships, so that the navigation may be opened. After this report had been brought before my Council of the Yndias and my Council of War for those lands, and had been discussed there, both sides having been considered by me, the suggestions of the said Marques of Montes Claros were approved by me. Therefore I command you that since he declares that the two islands, Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, in latitude thirty-four or thirty-five, will be much more suitable than the harbor of Monte Rey as a port in which the ships of the Filipinas trade may refit, you shall suspend for the present the opening to navigation and the settlement of the harbor of Monte Rey. I command you that, in conformity with the opinion of the said Marques of Montes Claros, you shall give the charge of the expedition to Sevastian Vizcayno; and shall cause to be undertaken the discovery, settlement, and opening to navigation of a harbor in one of the said islands, Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, as shall seem best and most suitable for the purpose intended. For the present I intrust to you the choice of all that concerns the matter. On account of my trust in your prudence and caution, and my confidence that you will not permit any excessive expense, I license you to expend from my royal exchequer, for all the aforesaid and for the arrangement of all other requisites, all the money needed, drawing the same from my royal treasury of the City of Mexico. I sanction and command the granting by you to the colonists of the same privileges that were granted in my decree of August 19, one thousand six hundred and six, to those who should go to colonize the port of Monte Rey. In case it seems to them that the latter port is

entirely preferable to either of the two islands referred to, you will execute the decree previously issued with reference to the said colonization and opening to navigation of the said port of Monte Rey; and by this my decree I command my accountants for my Council of the Yndias to record this command. Dated at [*word partly illegible*; Aranjuez?] September 27, one thousand six hundred and eight.

I THE KING

Certified to by Juan de Civica and signed by the members of the Council of War of the Yndias.

The King: To Don Luis de Velasco, my viceroy, governor and captain-general of the provinces of Nueva España, or to the person or persons in whose charge the government may be. Having understood that as a way-station for the vessels in the Philippine trade, one of these islands, Rrica de Oro and Rrica de Plata, would be more suitable than the port of Monte Rey – which had been explored, and for the opening and colonization of which orders had been issued – because the former are in a better situation: by a decree of the twenty-seventh of September of the past year, I commanded you to suspend for the time being the opening and settlement of the said port of Monte Rey, and to undertake the exploration, settlement, and opening of one of those two islands, Rrica de Oro and Rrica de Plata, as it appeared better and more suitable for the object desired; and you were to spend from my royal exchequer whatever money was necessary for this, and settle other matters, as should be expedient. You were to concede to the settlers the same privileges as were accorded to those who were to go to settle the

port of Monte Rey; and in case it still appeared to you that the latter was better fitted than either of the two islands, you were to execute what I had ordered you to do in connection with its settlement and opening, as is explained more at length in my said decree, to which I refer you. But now Hernando de los Rios Coronel, procurator-general of the said islands, has represented to me that in any case it is best that the said exploration should be made from the Filipinas, and not from Nueva España – both to avoid the great expense which would fall on the royal exchequer, if the ships for this expedition were built there, as all marine supplies are very dear in your country, and difficult to procure; and also because it would be necessary to make that voyage at hazard, mainly, and there would be great danger of not finding the islands and of losing the results of the voyage and the expenses incurred. For they are in a high latitude, and far distant from your country of Nueva España; and, besides, as all those who should go on this expedition would necessarily take a large amount of money to invest in the Philipinas (for, as the ships are to go back empty, they would take the opportunity to lade them with merchandise), they might, in order not to lose their goods by going on the exploration, draw up an information on the ship (as has been done at other times), saying that on account of storms, or for some other reason, they were unable to make the islands. But if the said discovery were made from the Philipinas, all these difficulties would be avoided; for it is evident that the cost and danger would be much less, as the two islands to be discovered are so near at hand that they can almost go and take them with their mer-

chant ships. All the rest may be arranged merely by ordering that, having made the discovery, they shall come back to the Philipinas without going to Nueva España; for in this way there will be no reason for them to lade their vessels with merchandise. Furthermore, there are in the Philipinas trustworthy persons for this affair, to whom it may be entrusted; and the sailors there are more competent, since they have more experience. Having again considered this in our Council for the Yndias, it has seemed best to command you, and you are so commanded and ordered, that if you have not begun to carry out the preparations for this exploration, as I have ordered you to do, and if you have not so advanced them as to make it inconvenient or very expensive to abandon it, you shall examine and consider with especial attention whether, for the suitable execution and less cost of the exploration, it would be expedient to place it in the hands of my governor and captain-general of the said Philipinas Islands, so that he may proceed to undertake it from those islands. And if it appear to you that this plan is expedient, you shall send at the first opportunity to my said governor the letter which will accompany this, for him, in which he is so ordered; and at the same time you will remit to him the money that in your opinion may be necessary, which is not to exceed the twenty thousand ducats, which I had granted for the settlement of the port of Monte Rey. Dated at San Lorenzo el Real, on the third of May of the year one thousand six hundred and nine.

I THE KING

Countersigned by Juan de Civiça; signed by the members of the Council.

LETTERS FROM FELIPE III TO SILVA

Personal services from the Indians

The King: To Don Juan de Silva, my governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia of Manila; or to the person or persons in whose charge that government may be. Having been advised from various parts of the Yndias, of the great vexations suffered by the Indians who pay tribute to their encomenderos in personal services, I have despatched decrees to all the viceroys, presidents, and governors of the Yndias, commanding that the encomenderos, judges, or commissaries of assessment shall not commute, or be paid in personal services, the tributes of the Indians. This same is my wish and my will, and is to be observed and executed in all provinces that are or may be under your charge; and you will not tolerate the said commutation, from the abuse of which have resulted so great evils and complaints as was the case when personal service was maintained; it must be entirely done away with in that region. For this good object you will immediately give official notice to the Indians who now pay their tributes in this form; and whatever they are to pay shall be received from them in produce that they possess and gather from their own lands, or in money, as may seem the least

oppressive and most convenient for the Indians. For the same end, if any encomendero shall violate in any manner any of the provisions of this clause, he shall incur the loss of his encomienda; and any royal official who shall be guilty of this, or of concealing it, shall be deprived of his office. At Aranjuez, on the twenty-sixth of May, of one thousand six hundred and nine.

I THE KING

Countersigned by Juan de Civica; signed by the members of the Council.

Proposal of Dominicans to found a college

The King: To Don Juan de Silva, my governor and captain-general, and the president and auditors of my royal Audiencia of the Philipinas Islands: The bishop of Nueva Segovia wrote to me in a letter of June 20, 1606, that he and the former archbishop had discussed the founding of a college there, where there could be as many as twenty collegiate students of theology and the arts. For this purpose, before the death of the archbishop, [46] he outlined a plan to purchase some buildings near the convent of Santo Domingo, in which the college could be established. In the mean time, while the work was being carried out, or until I should otherwise decree, it should be administered by the Order of Saint Dominic. In order to avoid certain difficulties, one of the articles of foundation was that the writings of St. Thomas should be read, as is done in the reformed universities; and the income derived from the In-

[46] Referring to the archbishop Benavides; he bequeathed his library and the sum of one thousand pesos for the foundation of the college of Santo Tomás at Manila.

Doctor Santiago de Vera. Doctor Santiago de Vera, who succeeded to the said office, having been informed of the same region, sent an Indian chief, named Don Dionisio Capolo, who is still living. He gave the latter one hundred Indians for the said exploration. This man returned after having gone sixty leguas from Manila – twenty more than the former expedition – on the said exploration. He reported that Indians of the country, his acquaintances, upon learning his errand, advised him not to proceed farther, for the people whom he was going to discover were numerous and warlike, and were hostile and would kill him. And inasmuch as he had no order to fight, and had but few men, he returned.

Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. In the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-one, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, governor of the said islands, sent his son, Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas, with seventy or eighty Spanish soldiers, and many Indian chiefs of La Pampanga, who were going with their arms and men to serve with Don Luis, to explore the province now called Tuy. The chiefs took more than one thousand four hundred Indian bearers. Don Luis, having reached the river called Tuy,[47] which is at the en-

[47] The route of this expedition was evidently up the Rio Grande de Pampanga, northward through the present provinces of Pampanga and Nueva Ecija; the headwaters of this stream are separated by the ridge of Caraballo Sur from those of the Rio Grande de Cagayan. Crossing these mountains, the Spaniards found themselves, at the southern end of Nueva Viscaya, at the sources of one of the two great branches of the latter river, the Magat River – the one which is named Tuy in our text. It joins the main stream of the Rio Grande de Cagayan, a few miles above Ilagan, in the province of Isabela, and the united streams flow northward through the entire length of that province and of Cagayan, falling into the sea below Aparri, on the northern coast of Luzón. See the short account of this expedition given in VOL. VIII, pp. 250, 251.

trance of the said province, ordered a cross to be made there on a tree, rendered thanks to God, and took possession, in his Majesty's name, on the fifteenth of July of the said year. On the sixteenth, after having told the inhabitants of that village, which was called Tuy, that he came in order to make them friends of the Castilians, and to have them render homage to his Majesty, so that the latter might take them under his royal protection, and so that they might be instructed in matters of the faith – for which he [Don Luis] had brought religious; and after having given them a few small articles, as pieces of cloth, garments, beads, and combs: they accepted the situation, and promised to pay tribute and recognition in due season. They swore peace after their own manner, which consisted in Don Luis and another – a chief, who spoke for all – each taking an egg, and throwing the eggs to the ground at the same time; they said together that just as those eggs had been broken, so they would be broken, should they not fulfil their promises.

Bantal; Bugay; Burat. That same day, Don Luis summoned other chiefs of the villages of Bantal, Bugay, and Burat, and after the same ceremonies as on other occasions, ordered them, since they were friends and vassals of his Majesty, to bring their wives (whom they had placed in the mountains) to the villages. Although he so ordered them twice, they declined, saying that they were keeping them in another village in order to amuse them, and give them time to rest from the care of their houses, and that it would be impossible to bring them at this time. Another chief, named Tuy – after whom the province was thus named, and who had not taken

part in making peace – as soon as he knew this, reproved the Indians severely for having made peace; and he caused them to break it by hostilities. Don Luis also heard that a great number of armed Indians were in the mountains. He attacked the trenches of the fort built by a troop of Indians, who declared with loud boasting that they desired no peace, even if the Spaniards were to go farther to see other villages. The natives set fire to the village of Tuy itself, which was totally burned, with the houses within the fort – although all the means possible were exerted, and some soldiers risked their lives – as the houses were all roofed with nipa and were built of wood, compactly constructed and built, with their streets evenly laid out.

A notable case. All the village having been burned, together with some houses near a cross, the latter did not catch fire on the front side facing the street, but only at the back. And although the rattan that fastened the arm of the cross was burned, the arm did not fall, or destroy the shape of the cross. And while there was not a single stick left unburned in the village, the fire did not leave mark or stain on the front of the cross, but it retained the same color as when set up. Alonso Vela, notary of the expedition, testified to the truth of this.

Tuy, sixty houses; Bantal, thirty houses; Burat y Buguey, with five hundred houses. Don Luis afterward arrived at three villages, one of sixty houses, another of thirty, and the third of five hundred. There were no people there, but he learned of two provinces, one called Danglay and the other Guamangui; and that inhabitants of the above villages had

gone to join those of the said provinces, although before that time they had been hostile to them.

The chiefs of Sicat, Barat, Tuy, Bugat, and Bantal begged pardon of Don Luis for the past, promising peace and the payment of the tribute in products of the land. They took oath according to another custom – each chief taking a candle in his hand and Don Luis one in his, and saying that so would he, who failed to keep his promise, or who broke his promise in whole or in part, be consumed even as that candle was consumed. Then they extinguished the candles, saying that just as that candle expired and was consumed, just so would he who broke his promise be slain and perish. Then the tribute for that year was conceded to them, whereat they were very happy.

Acknowledgment: Tuy; Sicat; Ybarat; Bugay; Bantal. On July 29, the village of Tuy paid its acknowledgment, consisting of seven little trinkets of gold in the shape of necklaces; that of Sicat, three maes of gold and two canutos of rice; Barat, six little gold trinkets in the form of necklaces of the value of four maes, and two canutos of rice; Bugay, thirteen small gold necklaces valued at eight maes, a small string of beads, and two canutos of rice; Bantal, five small gold necklaces valued at three maes, and two canutos of rice.

Dangla Province. On the thirty-first, Don Luis left Tuy, going down the valley, following the course of the principal stream, a large river, which at Cayan gives a passage to the province of Dangla. The chiefs of the province came to see him, whom he informed that the inhabitants of Tuy, Bantal, and other villages, accepted the peace. They took the oath,

with the ceremony of the egg, and rendered acknowledgment in small gold necklaces of the value of eight maes, and ten *bandines*.

Japalan; Tugai; Bayaban; Balayan; Chiananen; Yabios; Bayalos; Banete; Lamot; Bolos. From the second of August until the eighth of the same month, Don Luis remained in the villages of Japalan, Bugai, [*sic*], Bayaban, Balayan, Chicananen, Yabios, Bayocos, Banete, Lamot, and Bolo. The chiefs of these villages and the Indians rendered homage, took the oath as the others had done, and gave as their recognition small trinkets of gold necklaces, *cornerillas* [cornerinas?],[48] and other trifles. The Indians of Boloc alone seized their weapons and fled to the open fields.

By the sixth or seventh of August, they had already consumed the food that they had brought, and what they had seized at Tuy and other villages; and they had seized some without paying for it, as appears from the original. Don Luis reached three little hamlets, and, calling an Indian, the latter told him that his chief was gone to make peace with the Spaniards who were coming up the river; and that if Spaniards came both up and down the river, they were to escape. Don Luis saw also the old village of Yugan, which was then divided among the three hamlets above, for they did not dare to live in the village after killing seven Spaniards, who had come up the river from Cagayan with assurances of safety. Don Luis returned to the hamlets, and, after summoning the chiefs, four of them came. These, together with some Indians, rendered homage, and promised to pay tribute; and by way of acknowledg-

[48] A species of orange-colored agate, of great beauty.

ment, they pardoned the damage committed by Don Luis in one of the hamlets. When they offered to ransom some women and children who were in the camp, Don Luis gave these to the Indians freely, so that they might understand that the Spaniards did not come to harm them. The Indians swore, with the candle ceremony, to remain obedient and to pay tribute. The province of Tuy, it seems, ends at that place. On the ninth or tenth of August, Don Luis embarked on the river of Tuy, which is the same river as Cagayan, otherwise called Nueva Segovia. It appears that he did no more than the above.

Relation of what Don Francisco de Mendoza did in the exploration of the said province.

Gomez Perez Dasmarinas. At the beginning of August of the same year, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas sent Don Francisco de Mendoça with a troop of soldiers after Don Luis Dasmariñas, his son. Having reached Tuy on the nineteenth of the said month, the chiefs gave him a cordial reception, and he traded with them, especially with one of the principal women. Thence, accompanied by this woman, and other Indians of her village, who aided him in carrying the burdens of his stores, he went to Bantal. There he found a cross erected, and the inhabitants of the village drawn up near it with lance and shield, as if about to offer him battle. He asked nothing from them, and they gave nothing. He did not stop there. A chief went with Don Francisco of his own accord to Buguey, where he found its inhabitants stationed in the passes with the same preparation of arms. The people making an effort to fool him with some bundles of grass, he begged them for rice

in return for money, but they refused him. He seized by force two chiefs, and took them with him. These men, having seen the injury done him by the inhabitants of Tuy, took it upon themselves to guide the expedition to the hamlets where Don Luis had been before going to Dangla. Don Francisco tried to get rice in Dangla, offering to pay for it; but as they refused to sell it to him, he seized a chief. He entertained this chief and his wife and had them sleep near him. When morning came, the chief offered that if Don Francisco would allow him to go to the village, he would bring him rice; but as soon as he was at liberty he took flight, and had the village put under arms. The inhabitants went out to meet Don Francisco armed with spear and shield, so that he was obliged to fortify himself during one night, as they insolently molested the Spaniards.

Balabat; Pao; Palali; Lamot; Nacalan. Don Francisco went to the villages of Balabat and Pao. The two chiefs in his custody escaped from him there. Thence he went to the village of Palilamot, which he found under arms. From this latter place he went to the village of Nacalan, which he found deserted. In that place he embarked in certain small boats on Thursday, the twenty-ninth, and voyaged along the river until the thirty-first of August. On that date he reached three small villages, which he found deserted and their approaches strewn with straw.

He reached some farms on the first of September, where Don Luis had been, opposite Yugan. He offered several Indians pay to guide him, but they refused. On the third of September, Don Francisco reached a river, that of Cagayan. Embarking on it, he reached the settlement of Purao, where he seized

some supplies. On the sixth of September he reached the presidio of San Pedro y San Pablo [St. Peter and St. Paul] where he found some Spaniards from the province of Cagayan. Continuing his voyage in search of Don Luis, along the said river, he reached the city of Nueva Segovia.[49] It is understood that he was sent from Manila to look for Don Luis, since throughout his journey he proceeded on the road that he had taken, without stopping to attend to anything pertaining to the exploration and pacification.

Expedition made by Pedro Sid to the province of Tuy in the year 591.

Gomez Perez, November 16; Tuy. In that same year of 91 Gomez Perez Dasmariñas sent Pedro Sid and a number of soldiers to make explorations additional to those made by Don Luis, his son. It appears that on the sixteenth of November, he arrived opposite the settlement of Tuy, near Bantal. He found that place deserted, but after he had informed the inhabitants that he had not come to harm them, they returned to their village. The chief of Tuy, accompanied by many other Indians, went to his camp. He received them with much show of affection, asking them whether they desired religious to instruct them in the faith. They replied that they did not know what that was, but that the Spaniards should do as they wished. Don Pedro had some bits of cloth, bells, rings, needles, small strings of beads, and combs given to them. When he asked if there were any other settlements, they replied that there were several thickly-settled valleys back of a mountain to

[49] This city is no longer in existence; it has been replaced by the town of Lalló, formerly only a district of that city.

the left. He told them that his Majesty wished no tribute for the present, but only what recognition they were willing to make as a sign of homage; and that they should settle and cultivate their fields and grow their products, in order to have the wherewithal to pay their tribute when it should be asked. They answered that they would do so. When he asked them where they obtained the gold that they possessed, they answered that they obtained it from the villages of Yguat, Panuypui, and Bila, which were located behind a range of mountains opposite them. The inhabitants there obtained it from the village of Bayaban, located near the town of Yguat, close to the Ygolotes, where the gold mines were situated, and where the gold was traded. They gave as recognition two fowls and a small quantity of rice, and very heartily bade Don Pedro farewell.

Bantal. Marangui. After this, chiefs came from Bantal and the village of Marangui; and with them the former scenes were reënacted. They gave as recognition some fowls, a little rice, and sugar-canes.

It appears also that chiefs came from Bugay, accompanied by other Indians. After the same dealings with them as with the others, they said that Pedro de Sid should be bled with them in order to make the peace sure, and that each should drink the other's blood. This was accordingly done, whereupon they gave as recognition a small string of red beads, together with a little rice, gold, and a few fowls.

Dungla. It appears that Don Pedro went afterward to the village of Dungla, where he was received by the chiefs and a number of Indians. The same ceremonies were enacted with them as with

those above, and blood friendship was made. Their recognition was one cock, three chickens, and rice.

Pamut. He also went to Pamut, where the same things occurred as with the others, and he was bled with them.

Palan; Pao; Balabat; Payta; Balavad; Yanil. The inhabitants of the villages of Palan, Pao, Balabat, and Paita did the same. They gave, as recognition, hens, chickens, swine, and rice. It appears that he shifted his course at the village of Balabad, and went up the river. After half a day's journey he reached a village called Yanil, which he explored anew. The Indians received him gladly, and declared their pleasure at becoming acquainted with the Castilians. They confirmed the peace by bleeding themselves as those above had done, and gave as recognition two fowls and rice.

Saguli. On the afternoon of that same day, Don Pedro came upon another village named Saguli, which is located in the same valley. The chief and the Indians went out to meet him with expressions of their joy at becoming acquainted with the Castilians. They made peace after the manner of those above, and Don Pedro advanced the same arguments with them as with the inhabitants of the above-named villages.

Pintian. Next day Don Pedro discovered the village of Pintian, where the same proceedings occurred as with those above. They received him gladly and gave as recognition, venison and sweet potatoes. He took possession of that place and those above mentioned, as he had rediscovered them.

After a four days' march through very rough

roads, and without knowing his bearings, Don Pedro reached the village of Ayubon, through which he had passed on his way up. That place is located between the province of La Pampanga and that of Tuy. There his expedition ended, on the thirtieth of November of the said year 591. Don Luis Dasmariñas, Don Francisco de Mendoça, and Pedro Sid made this exploration so hastily that all three expeditions were made between July seven, five hundred and ninety-one, and November 30 of the same year: for Don Luis began his on the seventh of July of the above year, and finished it, and left the said province on the eighth of August of the same year. Don Francisco left on the sixth of August of the said year, and finished on the sixth of September. Pedro Sid began his expedition on the fourth of November, and finished on the thirtieth [of November] of the same year.

Relation and treatise of Captain Toribio de Miranda's deeds in the exploration and pacification of the said province of Tuy, in the year 1594.

Year 1594. Don Luis Dasmariñas. By commission of Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas, who became governor of the Filipinas upon the death of his father, Gomez Perez, Captain Toribio de Miranda was sent in the year 594 with eighty Spanish soldiers, four Franciscan religious, and the necessary Indian bearers, to pacify and complete the exploration of the province of Tuy. He reached the valley of Dumagui, which the religious called Todos Santos [" All Saints "], near the village of Guilaylay, which lies in front of Tuy, on the second of November. A chief went to meet him, whom Captain Miranda

received courteously, and gave to understand the reason for his coming – namely, for their good and protection; and told him that he had fathers to instruct them in the faith. The captain gave him some small articles, and he gave the captain two fowls and a sucking pig. He said that the settlement consisted of forty houses, and went away happy.

Anit; 70 houses. That same day the captain reached the village of Anit, which consisted of seventy houses. From the houses were hanging the heads of people and animals. On being asked why they did that, the people answered that it was their custom. The captain dealt with the chief and Indians as with those above named. They said that they would receive instruction, and three of them gave rice, a sucking pig, and three chickens. They were quite satisfied.

Bantal; Buguey. The chiefs went to meet him, among them one Ybarat. The captain gave them some presents, whereat they were satisfied, and Ybarat promised him rice, but did not keep his word. The captain built a fort, which he called San Jhoseph, and suspecting that Ybarat was planning some treachery, seized him several days later, when he came with a sucking pig and four jars of rice. On this occasion the captain heard that the chiefs were waiting in the village of Buyguey in order to kill the Spaniards. Chief Ybarat was so insolent that he could not be induced to bring provisions either by requests or threats; and, as our men lacked food, it was determined to go out to obtain rice, by orderly means, among the Tanbobos; it was brought from the village of Bantal and the fort was supplied. This was done without any resistance, for the village

was deserted. One of the principal women, the mother of Chief Tuy, the friend of Don Luis, brought two baskets of rice and two sucking pigs. The captain made much of her and gave her several articles. Having told her that the fathers were coming to give instruction in the faith, she was overjoyed. She told the captain of a village called Tulan, whose inhabitants she declared to be knaves and excellent archers. She visited the fathers, while in the fort. The captain told Ybarat that he would set him at liberty, if the latter's children would remain as hostages. As soon as their father told them this his children said, with great humility, that they would do as he ordered. The captain did the same with a chief who had been arrested as a disturber of the peace. The latter gave his only son, and the youth obeyed with cheerful face and great resolution, remaining as prisoner in his father's stead. The captain ordered another chief, who had been arrested, to do the same; but the latter refused to give his son as hostage. Ybarat requested the captain to free his children when he should fulfil his word, and the captain, trusting his word, restored them to him.

On November 16, the captain reached the valley of Dangla. A chief with his timaguas went out to meet him. The captain received him well and said that he was coming to treat them well, and brought fathers to instruct them in the faith, and told them to treat the fathers with great respect. Chief Ybarat guided them, having done so because the captain had gained his good-will. The captain asked them for some provisions, to be supplied for pay and on the account of the future tribute. They replied that

they did not desire pay. They gave two hogs and two baskets of rice. The first village which he reached was called Agulan and consisted of eighty houses. It is to be noted that many little boys and girls were observed in that village who wore gold necklaces of as good quality as those of the Moros of Manila, and good enough to be worn in Madrid. When they were asked where they had obtained these, they replied, "From Balagbac," which was the customary reply to all such questions.

The captain went to another village called Yrao, which consisted of sixty houses, at a quarter-legua's distance from the former village. A chief gave the Spaniards a cordial reception, and called himself their friend. He said that he had not gone to visit them because of sickness. They asked him for some rice, and he gave them three baskets of it, and two hogs. In this town were seen chased gold necklaces, and armlets reaching to the elbow, and anklets. Their earrings were of fine gold.

Thence the captain went to the village of Palan. A chief and some Indians went out to receive him and carried him a hog and rice. This chief was Ybarat's brother-in-law. They asked, since the latter was the friend of the Spaniards, why they also should not be friends of our people. The captain presented them with some articles and asked them for rice; and because they did not give it to him, seized it and paid for it in cloth. That village had eighty houses.

Tuguey; 112 houses. The captain went from that village to the village of Tuguey, crossing a lofty mountain to which the Spaniards gave the name Altos de Santa Zicilia ["St. Cecilia's Peaks"]. Not-

withstanding the stout resistance of the Indians, the Spaniards entered the village. The natives hearing the discharge of the arquebuses came to make peace. They gave six baskets of rice and six sucking pigs. The captain made the same statements to them as to those above, and they were satisfied. The village has one hundred and twelve houses.

Giarin; 40 houses. Thence the captain went to the village of Giaren. The inhabitants are excellent archers, and with their bows and arrows tried to resist the Spaniards' entry. After forcing their way into the village, the Spaniards assured them with friendly talk, and gave the people some trifles, so that they lost their fear of the Spaniards. The village contained forty houses.

Pao; 40 houses. The captain went thence to the village of Pao, which contained forty houses. He used with them the same arguments as with the others, and they gave two hogs and some rice.

Balagbac, with 120 houses; another village, of 12 houses. Thence the captain went to the village of Balagbac, which consists of one hundred houses. On the way he passed another of twelve houses, called Bizinan, dependent on Balagbac. As he was passing that village, the people shot some arrows at him from a thicket, and, in the camp, it appeared that a Cagayan, who was acting as guide, was killed; but it was not ascertained who killed him. The captain informed them of the purpose of his expedition, and that he had fathers to instruct them in the faith. He gave them some trinkets, and they gave rice and hogs, and were satisfied.

Thence he went to the village of Paytan, which he found deserted. Three Indians came with a little

rice and a hog; and although he assured them, so that they might call their people, they returned to the village and their chiefs. Only one chief came, and the captain detained him, to act as guide.

Palali; Buya, with 30 houses; Batobalos; Apio, with 180 houses. On the twenty-eighth of November, the captain went to the village of Palali, which he found deserted. From that place four [*sic*] other villages were seen: Buya, with thirty houses; Batobalos, the population of which was not known; and Apio, with one hundred and eighty houses. The Indians seemed to be much disturbed, and with threats warned the Spaniards to depart from their country, since all the valley was uniting in order to kill them, and that the Pogetes, who are Indians in the more rugged parts of the mountain, had joined the others. At that place, they killed an Indian guide with a volley of arrows. This loss was felt deeply, for he had promised to show the Spaniards the mines of Yguat. An extensive ambuscade was discovered, whereupon the captain ordered a musket and four arquebuses to be fired at the same moment. With this volley a great noise was heard, and the people fled. From this point the captain returned to his fort with all his men, for lack of guides, ammunition, and provisions, and with some sick men. A guide informed him of certain villages located in the mountain to the left, called Piat, Pulinguri, Malias, Ybana, and Aplad. Their population is not known.

By the flight of Chief Ybarat, the captain feared lest he should go to incite to rebellion the villages that he had left quiet behind. Going to them, he found the inhabitants of the village of Balagbac in

insurrection, and that of Paytan deserted, while the village of Bugay was also deserted. Upon reaching the fort, the captain found that the said Ybarat was inciting the people of his village to assault the fort; and those who were inside the fort were very fearful, and some of them sick.

After the captain had provided some necessary things in the fort, he made another sally and remained away for two days. During that time he discovered certain very small villages among the mountains. On his return to the fort, he captured Ybarat, and sent him to Manila. Don Luis Dasmariñas had him feasted and delivered him to Don Dionizio Capolo. After some days Don Luis visited Ybarat and those who accompanied him, and then sent him back, well satisfied, to his own country, in charge of the same Don Dionisio.

The captain again made a trip, to look for some mines that were reported to be situated among those mountains, and a golden goat[50] which people said that a chief had abandoned. It was all found to be false. The captain requested permission from Don Luis to return, as he was sick, although the friars had first made the same request, notwithstanding that they had promised great perseverance at first.

In his place, Don Luis sent Captain Clavijo with orders to go on farther in order to discover the mines of the Ygolotes. Although that captain left the province of Tuy in search of the Ygolotes, he turned back on the way, because he was assaulted by more than one thousand Indians. The latter wounded his guide, Don Dionizio Capolo, very severely in the

[50] In the MS., *cabra*; but this may be only a copyist's conjecture for an illegible word.

face; and it is reported that the captain was forced to return because he had no one to guide him. After his arrival at the fort, it was determined that the entire camp should return to Manila, as they had no provisions and the soldiers were sick, without making any further efforts for the discovery of the Tuy Ygolotes.

In the year 607, when the Audiencia was governing, two chiefs of that province [Tuy] came to the house of Don Dionisio. This man had been in all the above expeditions, where he had served with great fidelity. He took the two chiefs to the Audiencia and said that those chiefs were coming to render homage to his Majesty, and wished to pay tribute, and would make others come. This was regarded lightly, for the most part, although the Audiencia took care to make much of them and to feast them, in order to get news of their land from them. Finally permission was granted to Don Dionisio to return with the chiefs to their land, in order that they might bring in more Indians who might wish to come. He accomplished this so well, that he brought seventeen chiefs, whom he took to the Audiencia. These were received with the same coldness as the two chiefs, and no more was given them, nor any interest in them displayed. And inasmuch as a citizen encomendero came with the report that those chiefs were peaceful and belonged to his encomienda – which was a notorious falsehood, as they lived more than forty leguas from his encomienda, and were hostile, as appeared but a few days ago – this was sufficient completely to extinguish what little interest the Audiencia had displayed in the matter.

In order that the prevarication of the encomendero

may be understood, it is to be noted that about one year ago, the inhabitants of the encomienda of this man and other fellow-citizens of his attempted to make an incursion into the land of these Tuy chiefs, under the leadership of three Spaniards; but the inhabitants of Tuy attacked them and killed more than one hundred, among whom were more than twenty chiefs and the Spaniards. From that occurrence the encomendero's falsehood is manifest, as well as the coldness and neglect of the Audiencia, although not of all that body.

Don Dionizio attests that he has gone to the province of Tuy sometimes with seven or eight Indians; and as they were acquainted with him in the past, and knew that he had entertained Chief Ybarat, they have received him very hospitably and entertained him. They request him earnestly that some officer may go to protect them and receive their submission to his Majesty, and for fathers to teach them. They show by their deeds that they desire just what they say, for they begged a servant of this chief to teach them the prayers and Christian instruction. They learned these in the Tagal language and went to pray before a cross raised by the same chief. It is reported that their land is quite capable of sustaining the burden of the Ygolotes and the Spaniards who should go there to discover and work the mines; and would be of great service in the discovery of them and the pacification of the mountaineers, because of their communication with the latter, as the said province borders on the said Ygolotes. The land contains many settlements and many level plains, while its rice is the best that is grown in the Yndias.

The nature of that land is for the most part good.

It is an upland situated between two mountains, and is covered with grass, like Castilla. There is abundance of water and trees; and there are many valleys and broad, pleasant plains. It has many deer and carabaos, or buffaloes. Sugarcane is grown, and produces abundantly, and it attains a much larger growth than in other regions; and even, where moisture is obtained, many trees grow. There are many bare mountains, thought to be composed of minerals. The highest mountains are very rugged. The region explored by those who have gone there hitherto has been only the valley of Tuy, and part of the headwaters of the river of the same name. This river becomes of great volume, and terminates at the city of Nueva Segovia, or Cagayan. It contains numerous fish, and the best ones that are found in the island of Luzon. This valley and province are said to be forty leguas long, and end at the mountains of the Ygolotes. Its width is unknown, except that it extends from the province of Pangasinan to the sea, from which one may infer that is a greater distance than the forty leguas.

Relation of what has been known from old times, in these districts, of the rich mines of the Ygolotes – both from seeing the great amount of gold that the Indians of those mountains have extracted without skill, and are still obtaining, and which they sell to the neighboring provinces, and trade for food; and by persons (Spaniards as well as Indians) who have been in the mines opened by those mountaineers.

First, it is to be taken for granted that they are located in the mountains and ridges called Ygolotes, at somewhat less than eighteen degrees of latitude;

and as the land in itself is so lofty, it is cold, although its inhabitants go naked except for some garments made from the bark of trees. This region lies between the provinces of Cagayan, Ylocos, Pangasinan, and Tuy. The people are light complexioned, well-disposed, and intelligent.[81] It is reported that about eighteen or twenty thousand Indians use lance and shield. They are at war with their neighbors up to certain boundaries. Beyond those boundaries those peoples trade with one another; for the Ygolotes descend to certain towns of Pangasinan with their gold, and exchange it for food – hogs, carabaos, and rice, taking the animals alive to their own country. Until that food is consumed, or but a little time before, they pay no heed to securing any gold. Then each man goes to the mine assigned to him, and they get what they need, according to what they intend to buy, and not any more. They are a people as void of covetousness as this; for they say that they have it there at hand for the times when they need it.

It is probable that the mines here are very numerous and rich; and it is a well-known fact that for

[81] The Igorrotes first appear under the name Ygolot, which was applied to the inhabitants of Benguet; and those people probably represent the original tribe. The name was later applied to all the head-hunters of northern Luzón, then collectively to all in the Philippine Islands, and is now almost synonymous with "wild." The district assigned to the real Igorrotes is a matter of controversy among various authors, as are also their various characteristics, and their origin. Certain characteristics point to infusions of Chinese and Japanese blood. Comparatively few of them have embraced Christianity. They live in villages of three or four hundred, with a chief in each, who is usually the richest man, and whose lands the common people cultivate. They are generally monogamous, and respect the marriage tie highly. They believe in a supreme being whom they call Apo or Lu-ma-oig; his wife Bangan; his daughter Bugan; and his son Ubban. There are two inferior gods Cabigat and Suyan. Their priests are called Mau-

these many centuries the greatest quantity of gold, and that of the finest quality, in these islands has been and is still obtained there; and at the present time this industry is as active as ever. Although gold is obtained in certain parts of these islands, such as the island of Masbate, Catanduanes, Paracali, and the Pintados, yet none of it is in such quantities as that here; and this has been always, and now is the general opinion. Consequently one cannot doubt that a great treasure could be secured with expert men and the order to work those mines, since rude Indians, without any skill except in washing, obtain so great a quantity. It is said that one can obtain more gold in the rewashing of what the Indian leaves than the latter obtains.

It is also said that the wealth of these mines lies in certain mountains, in a district of four or five leguas in extent, and included between two large rivers which flow into the province of Pangasinan. The natives do not cultivate the land – for one reason, because of its great sterility, and the lack of ground

bunung and they heal sickness with charms and incantations. They believe in two places of abode after death: one pleasant and cheerful, for those who die a natural death; the other a real heaven, for warriors killed in battle and women who die in childbirth. They bury their dead in coffins in a sitting position, in clefts or caves, and often dry the corpse over a fire. Ancestor-worship is prevalent. They are an agricultural people, but do not breed cattle. They have worked the copper mines of their districts and extracted gold from the earliest times. As yet, however, exact and scientific knowledge regarding them is slight, as is true of many other Filipino tribes, owing to the confused state of Philippine ethnology. See Smithsonian *Report*, 1899, p. 538, "List of native tribes of Philippines" by Ferdinand Blumentritt (translated by Dr. O. T. Mason); Blumentritt's "Ueber den Namen der Igorroten" in *Ausland*, no. 1, p. 17 (Stuttgart, 1882); Sawyer's *Inhabitants of the Philippines* (New York, 1900); pp. 254-267; and Foreman's *Philippine Islands* (London, 1890), pp. 212-215.

to cultivate; and, on the other hand (which can more easily be believed), because, confident in their gold mines, they have thereby sufficient to purchase whatever they wish from Pangasinan, where the nearest abundant supply of provisions is to be found. The richest and chiefest among them is he who has more heads hanging in his house than the others; for that is a sign that he has more food, and gives more banquets. These mountains contain large pines, and other trees found in Castilla. Don Luis Dasmariñas, as above stated in the relation of Captain Miranda, sent Captain Clavijo to discover those mines; but he did nothing therein, because his guide was wounded on the road.

It is not known that these people have as yet received any evil religious sect. Accordingly they are pagans, and but little given to pagan rites, at that. On the contrary they are very lukewarm in their idolatry, and consequently it will be easy to inculcate in them the holy Catholic faith, as they are a race uncorrupted with pagan rites. One may greatly hope, with the divine aid, that their souls will be stamped with the faith, like a clean tablet. The same is said of the inhabitants of Tuy.

Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, former governor of these islands, sent Juan Pacheco Maldonado to discover those mines. It was said of this man that he was of little diligence and intelligence, and that he remained two months amid those mountains, in which period he could not catch a single Indian except only two women. At the end of that time, he returned because his provisions were all consumed. He brought a quantity of earth with him, which he declared to be from the mines. A charlatan – who

had been brought from España, at a salary of one thousand ducados, as an assayer – having made the test, found no gold in this earth. They say that the reason was, that he threw salt into the mass that he was about to smelt; and that salt should not be thrown into gold as is done in smelting silver. As then but few men knew of that, they did not investigate this difficulty. That test was, accordingly, worth nothing, since the experience of so many centuries and that of the present prove that those mines contain quantities of gold, most of it of twenty-two carats; for almost daily those Ygolotes go to a village of the province of Pangasinan, as to an emporium, to buy provisions in exchange. Of this one cannot doubt in the least.

This race and the inhabitants of Tuy, and those of many other provinces and mountains, have a cruel, barbarous custom, which they call "the cutting off of heads." This is quite usual among them, and he is considered as most valiant who has cut off most heads in the civil wars waged among themselves and with their neighbors. This race are ruled by certain superiors whom they call " chiefs," who are the arbiters of peace or war.

The above relations follow the fragments of certain old papers that have been found, and the narratives of persons acquainted with these matters. From them one can easily infer the lack of care, among those who have ruled the country, to know the truth concerning the Ygolotes; but in no event, would that have been work lost. On the contrary, according to the opinion of many men who have lived a long time in the country, it is regarded as very probable that a wealth of gold would have been

discovered, like the silver of Potosi.[52] The same is true of Tuy, even if no other wealth should be attained beyond the inestimable one of having reduced to the faith of Christ a province so vast, and which is said to number more than 100,000 souls; that would be a most lofty and divine work and one accompanied by great temporal advantage.

After having reached this point in the present relation, I saw the men who made the test of the earth brought from the Ygolotes. They were two men sent by Joan Pacheco from Tuy to Don Gonzalo Ronquillo. They tried to deceive the latter by bringing some bars of very fine gold, which they said was taken from the mines which had been discovered. Some doubt having been expressed at this, the governor had the metal or earth pulverized in their presence, and had the said men make the test. Being ignorant of that business, they did not obtain a grain of gold. On being urged, they said that those bars had truly been obtained from the Indians of the mines of the Ygolotes; accordingly, they did not come from the earth that had been brought. Thereupon Juan Pacheco came, without any clearer explanations, which sufficiently demonstrates his lack of intelli-

[52] The city of Potosi in Bolivia is situated on the slope of the Cerro Gordo de Potosi, a mountain 16,152 feet high, which contains silver mines of a richness that has become proverbial; they were discovered in 1545, by an Indian. It is estimated that the silver obtained from this mountain, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, amounted to $1,600,000,000. Humboldt gives the figures for its yield, from 1566 to 1789, amounting to 60,864,359 pounds troy; see his *New Spain* (Black's trans., London, 1811), iii, pp. 171, 172. He also endeavors to estimate (pp. 353-379) the value of the total yield from its discovery to 1789, which he places at 5,750,000,000 of livres tournois (£234,693,840 sterling). The mines now are almost abandoned, and the annual yield is about $800,000.

gence, since he was unable, in so long a time, to catch any Indians in order to talk with them. If the Indians descended to the plain daily, as they do at present, for food, as would seem necessary, they could have caught many of them; for, as above stated, the natives resort to Pangasinan, as to a market or fair. Given in Passi, July three, one thousand six hundred and nine.

DOCTOR JUAN MANUEL DE LA VEGA

Relation of how Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, governor of the Philipinas, heard that the province of Tuy was unexplored, which induced him to undertake its exploration; and his authorization to his son, Don Luis Perez, to make the said exploration.

Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas learned from certain religious of the Order of St. Augustine that this island of Luzon, where is located the capital of all the islands – namely, the city of Manila – was not yet completely explored or conquered, as it was suspected that the interior contained hostile and very valiant Indians; that the country was exceedingly productive, temperate, and fertile, and contained many cattle; that it was called the province of Tuy, and was contiguous on one side, as was imagined, to the farthest territory of the Sanvales [*i.e.*, Zambales], and on the other to the source of the river flowing to Cagayan. This last was one of the reasons why Cagayan had always been hostile, and the Indians never weary of continuing the war; for they went inland by way of the river – where, the Spaniards did not know, beyond the fact that they were supplied from that region with provisions and other things, which the Spaniards took from them, in order

to reduce them. When the governor asked the Spaniards the reason for so much neglect – why, for twenty years, they had made no attempt to go inland, since that was so important for the pacification of what was discovered – they did not know what to answer, except that a certain number of Spaniards had once ascended the Cagayan River, seven of whom were captured by the Indians. Since then, they said, the ascent had not been again attempted. The governor, having found that, although he tried to obtain from the Spaniards more definite information of the nature and characteristics of the said new land of Tuy, they were unable to give him any account of the said province, tried to gain information of that land by means of some of the natives. This he did by sending two Indians thither with all secrecy. One of them only, the more clever of the two, reported that beyond the farthest village of the Sanbales toward the north, he had learned with certainty that there were three or four villages of very well-disposed Indians, and that the country was excellent. He recounted some details of it, adding that he believed that the river of that province ended in Cagayan. The governor realized the importance of the expedition from this relation, and through two Indian women (by the medium of two interpreters from that land); and saw that the sure pacification of all Cagayan and of this island of Luzon, and the removal of errors by ascertaining with certainty what it contained, depended on that expedition. There was also reasonable ground, from the indications and reports adduced, for expecting that there must be many undiscovered Indian settlements. Accordingly he determined – although against the advice of the

Spaniards who had lived longest in the country, who declared that the country was thoroughly explored and that there was nothing else to explore in it – to send his son, Don Luis Dasmariñas, thither to make the said new exploration of Tuy. The latter was to be accompanied by the captain and sargento-mayor, Juan Xuarez Gallinato, Captain Don Alonso de Sotomayor, and Captain Cristoval de Asqueta (all old residents), and seventy soldiers, most of whom the governor had brought new with him from España, besides certain of the governor's servants and some other soldiers who had been here in the country. The said Don Luis was accompanied also by two fathers, religious of the Order of St. Augustine, for the greater justification both of the expedition and of the mildness with which he was to proceed. One was the definitor, Fray Diego Gutierrez, and the other, Fray Mateo de Peralta. Juan de Argumedo, and even many soldiers and others, private persons, who came to the governor to ask permission to go with his son, accompanied Don Luis halfway, but halted in La Pampanga, as they did not appear to be needed. To these latter the governor refused the permission, although very much pleased at seeing so great willingness and readiness in all of them to follow his son, and to take part in this or in any other expedition that might offer, and which for lack of system and resolute action could not be continued throughout, as was fitting, according to the arrangement and outcome of affairs. The title of lieutenant to the captain-general was given to the said Don Luis, with the following orders and instructions. He was instructed especially to tell his father in detail all that should happen.

Warrant of Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas for the exploration of the province of Tuy.

Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, etc. Inasmuch as I have been informed by the relations of persons of credit that about three days' journey from Mungabo, a village of La Pampanga, lies a densely-settled district, very fertile and prosperous, called Tuy, which extends to the confines of the province of Cagayan; and although many things have been told of it and of its vast population, no exploration has as yet been made therein, nor has possession been taken of it in his Majesty's name; and although his Majesty's royal and holy intention is the preaching of the holy gospel; and since – so that these nations may learn of the true God, and be saved by means of our holy Catholic faith – it is advisable to explore and colonize the said province, and establish therein the holy Catholic faith and obedience to his Majesty, for which it is necessary to send religious to preach the law of God and the Christian doctrine, and soldiers to accompany and protect the religious: Therefore, by this present, I order my son, Don Luis Dasmariñas, hereby appointed by me as lieutenant of the captain-general in this camp, to undertake the exploration, entrance, and new pacification of the said province and district of Tuy accompanied by the said fathers, religious of the said Order of St. Augustine, and those soldiers who will be assigned to him. He shall fulfil and observe the instructions that shall be given him with this my order, in the expedition and exploration. For all the above and for all annexed and pertaining to it, I grant him authority and power in due legal form, and as I possess and hold it from his Majesty.

Given at Manila, July three, one thousand five hundred and ninety-one.

GOMEZ PEREZ DASMARIÑAS

By the governor's order: JUAN DE CUELLAR

Instructions for this expedition given by Gomez Perez Dasmariñas to his son.

Granting that one of the reasons for the hatred and hostility of the Indians toward us is the collection of tributes, especially when it is not accomplished with suitable mildness and moderation, this question shall by no means be discussed with them in the beginning. Rather, if the Indians should be fearful of what should be collected from them, and should place obstacles in the way of their reduction and our principal end, that of their conversion, good hopes shall be offered them that all satisfaction shall be accorded them in this matter, and that the tribute shall be only what they choose to give.

2. You shall under no consideration allow any soldier to seize any gold or any other article of value from any Indian, in case that any of the said Indians should flee through fear or any other reason, and abandon their gold or other property to the power of the soldiers. It shall immediately be sent to its owner, to show them, as above stated, that the expedition is not being made there for their gold. On the contrary, you shall endeavor, before the Indians, to attach very slight importance to gold, alleging that it has but little value and esteem among us. In all the above, and in whatever else may come to your notice, you shall always govern yourself by, and conform as far as possible to, the opinion of the under-

signed members of the council of war. You shall endeavor to direct everything that you do with the great energy and resolution that can and should be expected from your wisdom and prudence. In all things you shall regard the service of God and that of the king our sovereign.

3. Rivers, so far as possible, shall be crossed only on well-made rafts, and without any danger to the soldiers or overturning them in the water.

4. On entering the country, possession of it shall be taken by notarial attestation in his Majesty's name. The summons and protests made shall be made through an interpreter, and by the religious fathers, and by those others whom you deem most moderate.

5. As soon as you shall have come in sight of the district that you are to seek, you shall send your message and protests, with show of great love and moderation, so that the natives will admit our trade and friendship, as above stated. You shall under no consideration permit any soldier to violate any woman, or to offer to either mother or daughter any uncivil or rough treatment. Rather you shall see that no ill-treatment, or offenses to God, occur. You shall give the natives some silks or gifts of slight value, which will be highly esteemed among the Indians, and which will be a partial way of making them understand that we do not go there only for their property, but in order to give them ours, so that they will admit our friendship and trade, which is beneficial to them.

6. You shall appoint what governor and other officials you deem necessary in that district that shall render homage to his Majesty. You may leave there some Spaniards, if you think that they will remain with safety. This is left to your judgment.

7 If the natives will give the tribute peacefully, and without trouble and willingly, you shall assign them the usual tribute ordered to be collected by his Majesty, namely, ten reals. You shall send a census of the people, and a description and plan of their location, and a relation of the special features of the district, together with the nature of ports, rivers, grain-fields, and any products that may be mentioned.

Title of lieutenant of the captain-general of Don [Luis] of the camp of the Philipinas.

From the same document it appears that Gomez Perez Dasmariñas appointed his son, Don Luis, as his lieutenant of the captain-general, two days before, in order to send him with authority on this expedition, as appears from the title itself, dated July first, one thousand five hundred and ninety-one, and which was drawn before Juan de Cuellar, government notary. The writ for it does not accompany the present, because of its prolixity.

The villages reporting gold from the Ygolotes

Although not stated in the relation, for the sake of brevity, the natives were asked from how many villages they obtained the gold that they paid as a recognition, and deposited. They replied that it was obtained from one village in the mountains of the Ygolotes, where gold was bartered; and that there were thirteen villages. This is to be noted so that one may understand how widespread everywhere, and among people that we do not know, is the knowledge of gold mines among the Ygolotes.

DOCTOR JUAN MANUEL DE LA VEGA

Additional conditions and stipulations in regard to the conquest and pacification of the province of Tuy, and the discovery of the mines of the Ygolotes.

Most potent Sir:

Inasmuch as the conditions contained in the present paper, additional to those which were given over our signatures in a former paper, seem to us advisable and necessary, in order that the end desired in the conquest and pacification of the province of Tuy and the mountains of Ygolotes may be better attained, and his Majesty better served, we add these others.

1. First, inasmuch as many clauses of the first conditions entreat his Majesty to order the governor and captain-general, the Audiencia, and the royal officials, to observe, and that exactly, the requirements therein set forth; and inasmuch as by not doing so, the pacification and exploration will not be obtained without the imposition of a larger fine; and inasmuch as it is advisable to prevent mischief, when the remedy is so remote: in order that no occasion may be taken from this, as some ill-intentioned persons desire, to discontinue the pacification and exploration, it is advisable to impose a large fine on each and all who do not observe it, with the injunction that his Majesty will also consider such conduct as displeasing to himself.

2. *Item*: That all the officers and soldiers engaged in this conquest, either on pay or as volunteers, who had while in Manila any right to receive a share in the lading,[53] shall retain and preserve that right while

[53] Referring to the allotment of space for freight in the regular trading fleet sent yearly to Mexico. As has been shown in preceding documents, this privilege, as the source of much profit, was

engaged in the said conquest. To the volunteers – whether married or single, without distinction – shall be given [space therein] to him who has no capital, at least one *pieza*; and to him who has capital, in proportion to that capital, and to his length of residence here. Thus many may be induced by this *pieza* to take service, who otherwise would not serve, but would be wandering about idly, and gambling, to the corruption of the community.

3. *Item*: Inasmuch as the envy of two or three men, who try, by means of trickery, to prevent and thwart any affair or action of another, is very usual and well known in this country; and it is to be presumed of these men that they will not, even if they can, pardon this conquest; and as they say slyly that the share of the citizens in the cargo may be so large that there is no one who can buy any of the tonnage, or use other artful means, or say that at least the tonnage must be sold cheaply, at less than fifty pesos a share – in order that, as the proceeds therefrom will be slight, the conquest and exploration might not be made: to correct the above, it is necessary to ordain that no one, under heavy penalties, can sell the piezas

restricted by the government to the citizens of the islands, among certain of whom the space was duly allotted by toneladas, each shipping goods to that extent – although many frauds were practiced, often by royal officials themselves. The stipulation in our text secured, to persons having the right to a share in this trade, the exercise of that right while absent on the Tuy expedition, the same as if they were present in Manila when the ships were laden. The *pieza* mentioned in this paragraph was the bale used as the unit of capacity in lading the vessel (see Bourne's introduction to this series, VOL. I, p. 63). A letter from Andres de Alcaraz to the king (August 10, 1617), which will be presented in VOL. XVII, gives further information regarding the pieza. From this document it appears that the tonelada was reckoned at eight piezas; the pieza would then be estimated at ten arrobas, or two hundred and fifty libras.

granted to him until the eighty toneladas are sold – which are given them, in accordance with the royal decrees, not to be sold, but for export purposes. We might make public by proclamations, public criers, or edicts, the provisions regarding this matter, and order the officials who regulate the cargo not to lade any pieza without certification by the receiver of the freight, of what one shall have sold, given, or transferred to another in any way, under penalty of losing his office as manager of the cargo, and one hundred pesos' fine for each pieza thus laded.

4. *Item*: In order that volunteers may be induced to serve on this occasion, a moderate ration of rice and wine shall be given them from that bought with the money received for the tonnage. This is a matter of slight importance, since in a whole year, even if there be a hundred and fifty volunteers [*aventureros*], the sum does not amount to one thousand five hundred pesos.

5. *Item*: That we may build the forts and fortresses of stone, or wood, as was determined by the council of war, or sun-dried mud bricks, for the preservation and defense of what is obtained from the price of the tonnage, or from the tributarios that shall have been pacified in the said province and mountains of Ygolotes, measures for this purpose being taken by three councils of war on different days. That we be authorized to appoint wardens, their deputies, and the other necessary officers in order to govern, defend, and faithfully guard the said forts and fortresses in the name of his Majesty, together with what garrison soldiers are necessary – to whom we may assign pay in proportion to the importance of the stronghold, after consultation with the council of war. The pay

of these shall be a charge on the royal treasury, and be paid on their presentation of their title and appointment as wardens, assistants, and other officers and soldiers.

6. *Item*: That if, in the opinion of the council of war, it should be necessary for the service of the camp to appoint other needful officers, besides those specified in the other conditions, we be authorized to do so, assigning to them the adequate pay from the money received for the tonnage; and, if there is no money in that fund, from the royal tributes of the conquered country.

7. *Item*: That, if there be any good result, such that it is worth while to advise his Majesty of it, we be authorized to send it by way of the sea of the said provinces – that is, the sea by which the voyage is made to Nueva España – without being obliged to have recourse to the governor and Audiencia. This is to be done at the cost of the royal treasury, taken from what is conquered, or from the money received for the tonnage; because, as that region is more than one hundred leguas distant from Manila by land, and it is necessary to guard against the tardy despatch that is usually made, and the later necessity of sailing among islands for another hundred leguas, which is the most dangerous navigation between these islands and Nueva España. In that course the ship "Santiago," and another vessel that came with advices from Nueva España, were wrecked last year. On the other hand, the coasts of Tuy and Ygolotes are the most advanced points toward España, so that he who sails thence will be halfway on his journey before he who sails from Manila has reached the open sea.

8. *Item*: That, if, by our care and diligence, we

allure the chiefs of the Yogolotes together with the other chiefs by means of presents, kind words, and mild treatment, to descend to the plain, or to live quietly in settlements in their natural habitat, submissive to his Majesty, paying their tribute, and abandoning the barbarities that they have been wont to practice on their own children and those of the lowlands; and if they accept the faith and are quiet and pacified: we receive permission to distribute and apportion them in encomiendas – assigning one-third to the royal treasury, and another third to the soldiers engaged in the conquest, while we be awarded the remaining third as our exclusive property; for the Indians will be few, and reduced after many days and great toil.

9. *Item*: That we beseech his Majesty to concede this favor to us, that we pay the tenth of the gold obtained from the mines to be worked by our order, instead of the fifth. The same is to be understood in regard to the mines of silver, quicksilver, and lead that shall be discovered and worked by our order; and that in all mines we be excused from clause 31, law 5, title 13, book 6, of the *Recopilacion*,[54] so that we may have more than two mines in one vein, if there is only a slight space between the different mines, in order to keep the measure of one mine.

DOCTOR JUAN MANUEL DE LA VEGA

Additional conditions and notifications in regard to the conquest, pacification, and exploration of the province of Tuy and Ygolotes.

In the last or next to last of the former conditions

[54] Evidently a reference to a compilation of Spanish laws. There is nothing in the *Recopilación de las leyes de Indias* answering to this.

we make two statements: one, that it is unnecessary to wait for advice or investigations from here, for the reasons and causes assigned in the condition; the second, that an answer must be given us as to the acceptance of our offer, in the same year when our despatches are received, and by the first advice-boat; and if this shall not be done immediately, then we shall be free from all obligations. It remains to answer the silent criticism that may be opposed to each statement: to the first, that it seems a senseless thing for us to proceed according to our own judgment, without ascertaining whether it is advisable or not and that there are others who may make a better contract; and to the second, that our offer may be solely to fulfil appearances and not real.

1. In regard to the first, we reply that it has already been determined to be advantageous to make the said conquest, pacification, and exploration, by what each of the governors, as declared in the relation, tried to do during his administration, and what was lastly and courageously determined by the great governor, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, to whom the Spaniards now living in these islands owe their lives. He undertook the exploration of the province of Tuy, and held the same in great esteem, since he entrusted it to no less than the person and valor of his only son, Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas, sending with him the best captains of this camp and Sargento-mayor Juan Xuares Gallinato. He was moved by the reasons given in the first chapter of the relation of this conquest, the literal copy of which accompanies these conditions, as it is believed that no advice can be given his Majesty or your Highness that will be as forcible as this. The importance of the matter is

superlative; and it is all the more advisable to undertake it, as that was done by a most truthful knight and one most zealous for the service of God and of his Majesty. And it is quite well known, as is said unanimously by all this community, that it was seen and could well be believed that, had not death taken him so suddenly, he would have finished the conquest. Lastly, Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas, who became governor at his father's death, followed in his footsteps; and desiring to enjoy and attain what his father had himself begun to discover, sent Captain Miranda. Although the latter exerted himself, yet he did it without any system. If he had had the discernment and sound judgment necessary for the permanent pacification of the lands explored, he would have remained there with the soldiers working thus night and day and through rain and wind; but at the very best time, he had to abandon all. Then, touching the mines of the Ygolotes, this serves also as a good relation, for the news of them that both Don Gonzalo Ronquillo and Don Luis Dasmariñas had received obliged each one to make his greatest efforts; and the knowledge of those mines was widespread, both among barbarians and Spaniards.

As to the opinion that this should not be done at the cost of the royal treasury, as the former expeditions were made, we believe that it cannot be done more mildly and without prejudice to a third party, and it is better to do it at the expense of this commonwealth; for this year the community has allowed, without any remonstrance, the owner of a small vessel to lade, for the freight-charges, eighty toneladas for whomsoever he wished, besides the tonnage allotted to the citizens. Consequently it may be be-

lieved that the community will not object to applying the freight money to this conquest; but rather that it will be done to the great satisfaction of all the public, if no other burden is imposed, as in the past.

Then in regard to there being some person who would accomplish this enterprise more advantageously by loading upon his own shoulders a so heavy burden, there is the risk of his having to keep it for these four or five years without any greater profit than the ordinary pay.

The emoluments, gains, and advantages to be derived from the enterprise are very large. It seems very probable if it be not done in any other way, or through us, it can be done only by those occupying the positions that we now fill. For as regards the position of auditor, the person appointed to the charge of the mountains [*montaraz*] could serve in that capacity [*i.e.*, as auditor], (although with great inconvenience), in the labors of both peace and war, and can remain quietly at home. But he cannot do that, except with great zeal for the service of both majesties. As for the position of captain of this camp, it can serve on this occasion, thus relieving the royal treasury of his pay and of that of all the company – which, agreeably to the stipulations, has to be paid from money received for the eighty toneladas. In regard to our persons we shall be ready for it, and trust that the divine Majesty, who placed this thought in our hearts, will give us the needful ability – to one to counsel, aid, and govern, since the pen never blunts the spear; and to the other to execute with valor and courage what is most fit for these states. And it is to be expected of him that he will do it

superlative; and it is all the more advisable to undertake it, as that was done by a most truthful knight and one most zealous for the service of God and of his Majesty. And it is quite well known, as is said unanimously by all this community, that it was seen and could well be believed that, had not death taken him so suddenly, he would have finished the conquest. Lastly, Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas, who became governor at his father's death, followed in his footsteps; and desiring to enjoy and attain what his father had himself begun to discover, sent Captain Miranda. Although the latter exerted himself, yet he did it without any system. If he had had the discernment and sound judgment necessary for the permanent pacification of the lands explored, he would have remained there with the soldiers working thus night and day and through rain and wind; but at the very best time, he had to abandon all. Then, touching the mines of the Ygolotes, this serves also as a good relation, for the news of them that both Don Gonzalo Ronquillo and Don Luis Dasmariñas had received obliged each one to make his greatest efforts; and the knowledge of those mines was widespread, both among barbarians and Spaniards.

As to the opinion that this should not be done at the cost of the royal treasury, as the former expeditions were made, we believe that it cannot be done more mildly and without prejudice to a third party, and it is better to do it at the expense of this commonwealth; for this year the community has allowed, without any remonstrance, the owner of a small vessel to lade, for the freight-charges, eighty toneladas for whomsoever he wished, besides the tonnage allotted to the citizens. Consequently it may be be-

lieved that the community will not object to applying the freight money to this conquest; but rather that it will be done to the great satisfaction of all the public, if no other burden is imposed, as in the past.

Then in regard to there being some person who would accomplish this enterprise more advantageously by loading upon his own shoulders a so heavy burden, there is the risk of his having to keep it for these four or five years without any greater profit than the ordinary pay.

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In respect to the first the province of Tuy commences, as the documents state, and as Gomez Perez Dasmariñas declares, as one goes from La Pampanga to the said province from the end of the Çanbales to the beginning of the Tui River; thence following its course to the villages of Datan, Lamot, and Duli to the end of the province of Tui, and the commencement of that of Cagayan; and, cutting this line, by a cross-line from the end of the province of Pangasinan to the sea, on the coast opposite Manila.

As to the second, the encomiendas which shall be within the confines of the said province and shall have any part in the province of Tuy – that the encomenderos retain what they have thus far held and collected by the register, quietly and peacefully, without exceeding the number of natives assigned to them; and in such case they may remain in the province of Tuy and be distributed according to the conditions and agreements. In case that any one's concession and title indicate a greater number of natives than he possesses, he must keep only those whom he himself has conquered, pacified, and had instructed, and no more; for it is not right that he enjoy those who were hostile when the concession was given him, those conquered or instructed here later, if others have shed their blood in the conquest of these, and they have been won at his Majesty's expense.

4. *Item*: We believe that the condition stated in the first clause of the first [agreement] can be emended, granting that authority is to be given to Doctor de la Vega to be able to appoint the alcaldes-mayor of the provinces of Cagayan, Ylocos, and Pangasinan, and take their residencias. This gave opportunity to the governor to complain that, inasmuch

as none of this pertained to Doctor de la Vega, a part of his [the governor's] office was being taken from him. This was necessary for the proper accomplishment of his Majesty's service; but in order not to give any occasion for ill-feeling in the other affairs that will arise daily with the governor, it seems a sufficient remedy to give the said Doctor de la Vega commission, so that these alcaldes-mayor be subordinate to him, as all the justices in the adelantamientos [55] of Castilla [are subordinate]. Also the said Doctor de la Vega and his deputies should be authorized to try the causes, as stated in the first clause herein cited of the first conditions, leaving their appointment and the taking of their residencias to the governor, or to whom that may pertain; and the said Doctor de la Vega should have full power, in case that they do not exactly fulfil any orders sent them, to punish them, and to execute upon them the penalties to which he shall condemn them, even to suspension or exile. For if they know that that can be done, they will act more carefully, in order to give no occasion for such action.

By decree of his Majesty, it is ordained that the inhabitants of this city may export the products of the country without formal allotment in the lading. We beseech his Majesty to be pleased to allow the cakes of wax possessed by the volunteer soldiers who shall go to serve and who actually do serve in this expedition, to be exported; and that our certification and that of each one be sufficient for the official laders to stow it in the vessels as soon as they, or anyone in their name, may arrive, under severe penalties. The same we beseech for the piezas of the cargo

[55] The district of the governor formerly called adelantado.

which should be given to them, when it shall likewise appear, by certification, that they are engaged in this expedition.

DOCTOR JUAN MANUEL DE LA VEGA

PETITION OF A FILIPINO CHIEF FOR REDRESS

Sire:

In former years the archbishop of these Philipinas Islands, on petition of the natives of the village of Quiapo, which is near this city of Manila, wrote to your Majesty, informing you that the fathers of the Society of Jesus – under pretext that the former dean of this holy church of Manila, whom your Majesty has lately appointed archbishop,[56] had sold them a garden lying back of our village – have been insinuating themselves more and more into our lands and taking more than what was assigned them by the dean; and that we had scarcely any land remaining in the village for our fields, and even for our houses. The petition begged your royal Majesty to remedy this and protect us under your royal clemency, since we are Indians, who cannot defend ourselves by suits,

[56] Archbishop Benavides died on July 26, 1605, and was succeeded by Diego Vazquez de Mercado – although the latter did not take possession of the see until June, 1610. He was a native of Arevalo, Castilla, and a relative of Gonzalo Ronquillo, fourth governor of the Philippines. He was the first dean of the Manila cathedral, serving therein for sixteen years; then went to Nueva España, and, having obtained a doctor's degree from the University of Mexico, held a benefice at Acapulco. He was appointed bishop of Yucatan, but was transferred to the archbishopric of Manila; this post he held until his death, in 1618. He completed the cathedral edifice, applying to that work much of his patrimony.

as we are a poor people, and it would be a matter with a religious order. Your royal Majesty, as so Catholic and most Christian, sent a command to the royal Audiencia resident in these islands to gather information of the details of this matter, and to redress it, and not allow injuries to be inflicted on us. We have heard that the royal Audiencia has advised your Majesty; but we do not know what they have advised, for nothing was told us. Now this present year, I, who am the chief, and claim that the lands which are in dispute with the fathers are of greater extent, built a house in my fields. One of the fathers [*i.e.*, Jesuits], named Brother Nieto, came with a numerous following of negroes and Indians, armed with halberds and catans; and of his own accord, and with absolute authority, razed my house to the ground. This caused great scandal to those who saw a religious armed for the purpose of destroying the house of a poor Indian – although, after seeing his intention to seize all my property and bind me, I did not raise my eyes to behold him angered, because of the respect that I know is due the ministers who teach us the law of God. Although the alcalde-mayor of our village (namely, the master-of-camp, Pedro de Chaves) was angry, as was proper, at the little attention they paid to the royal justice of your Majesty and of your servants; and went immediately on that same day to the destroyed house, and did not leave the village until he knew that another small house had been rebuilt for me in place of the one destroyed – yet, as all the fathers had threatened me that, as often as I should build a house there, they would return to raze or burn it (and this they have declared before the alcalde-mayor himself and the canon Tala-

vera, our minister), and as I am a poor Indian, I fear the power of the said fathers. For I fear that I can find no one to aid me in the suits that the fathers are about to begin against me, or who will appear for my justice, since I have even been unable to find anyone who dared to write this letter for me. This letter is therefore written by my own hand and in my own composition, and in the style of an Indian not well versed in the Spanish language. But I confide my cause to your royal Majesty's great kindness, and, prostrate at your Majesty's royal feet, implore you to protect me with your royal protection, by ordering the royal Audiencia and the archbishop to inform your royal Majesty anew, and to summon me in order that I may inform them of my claims to justice. Also in the meanwhile will you order the fathers not to molest me in the ancient possession that I have inherited from my fathers and grandfathers, who were chiefs of the said village. I trust in the royal clemency and exceedingly great Christian spirit of your Majesty that I shall be protected and defended in what should have justice. This I petition from your royal person, whom may our Lord preserve during many happy years, for the protection of these poor Indians, your Majesty's loyal vassals, and for the increase of this new Christian community. From Quiapo; July 25, 1609.

The useless slave of your royal Majesty,

DON MIGUEL BANAL

[*Endorsed*: "Have the governor and the Audiencia investigate, and in the meanwhile provide suitable measures."]

superlative; and it is all the more advisable to undertake it, as that was done by a most truthful knight and one most zealous for the service of God and of his Majesty. And it is quite well known, as is said unanimously by all this community, that it was seen and could well be believed that, had not death taken him so suddenly, he would have finished the conquest. Lastly, Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas, who became governor at his father's death, followed in his footsteps; and desiring to enjoy and attain what his father had himself begun to discover, sent Captain Miranda. Although the latter exerted himself, yet he did it without any system. If he had had the discernment and sound judgment necessary for the permanent pacification of the lands explored, he would have remained there with the soldiers working thus night and day and through rain and wind; but at the very best time, he had to abandon all. Then, touching the mines of the Ygolotes, this serves also as a good relation, for the news of them that both Don Gonzalo Ronquillo and Don Luis Dasmariñas had received obliged each one to make his greatest efforts; and the knowledge of those mines was widespread, both among barbarians and Spaniards.

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we had. Four of them died at sea, between here and the Philipinas (three of these being priests, and the other not), all of them being friars from whom much was hoped. I have made information of all this before the notary of the ship itself (who was called Francisco de Vidaurre), with witnesses who were aboard – which, with the favor of God, I myself shall take to España, as I am now on the way there. This was in the year of 1606.

The very next year two religious of my company – priests, confessors, and preachers, Fray Jacinto Orfanel and Fray Joseph de San Jacinto – went to the Philipinas with Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, nephew of the marques, who was commander for two patajes; and this year, 608, I sent four others of the same qualifications with the lord governor, Don Rodrigo de Bibero.

Thus of all my company, except six who have died, only one has failed to go to the Philippinas. To this one, I confess, I gave permission to remain; and he is at present in the province of Oaxaca as minister and interpreter, and so has not been obtained for it unfairly, since religious go from Spaña to this province also at the cost of the royal exchequer. It was at the time expedient and even necessary to give the permission; and if his Majesty should try to tie the hands of him who takes the religious in charge, in this matter, it would be the occasion of many grave injuries to his royal service, and still more to that of God, for the new church in the Philippinas can be entrusted only to ministers with the apostolic spirit. For, in order to persuade to the faith, the lack of miracles must be made good by the life of the minister, which, when apostolic, is so much the more a

power, as the ability to work miracles is less; for the force of example, and that of miracles which the apostles had to convert the world then, must now be contained in the life of the minister. In truth this is more important for the heathen than are miracles, if it be what it ought. But it is impossible for the superior who takes them in his charge to become acquainted with them before he engages them, as there is no opportunity for that in Spaña, or hardly even to know their names; for after procuring his decrees at court, almost all his time is necessary, up to the embarkation, to get his ship-supplies in Sevilla and set affairs in order there. And if he must go about seeking religious in one house and another, through all Castilla and Aragon, as far as Barcelona, how can he have time to become gradually acquainted with them, as he should do? Although it is true that, if he supplies religious to this country by his authority, when he has become acquainted with them, it is a loss to the royal exchequer, to the amount that he has spent for them without carrying out his Majesty's intentions; yet, if they should go on farther, that purpose would be much less successful, and the expenses would be greater. It is less harmful to spend some money ill, than a great deal to the loss, perhaps, of souls, whose welfare is the object of these expenditures. In the government of man, to attempt to flee from difficulties is the greatest hindrance of all; accordingly, the difficulties that may be encountered in this matter can best be avoided by not entrusting this work to anyone except some very trustworthy religious; then his Majesty, being thoroughly informed in regard to him, can place entire confidence in him. For as he must do this with men

in his royal service, there is no reason why he should not do as much here, for his agent is a priest and a religious, with greater obligations to keep his conscience pure than has a secular minister; nor is he ignorant of the fidelity which he owes his king and lord, and how great a sin it would be against justice, and what obligation there would be for restitution of money ill spent. The truth is that anyone to whom his Majesty entrusts this could, if he did not proceed with great exactness, very legitimately excuse himself by saying that what was ordered to be given him for the despatch is not enough, by far, and so he is spending on a few what is given him for the many; since it is hardly enough for even the few – having recourse, for the external forum, to equivocal answers. It is actually true that the provision that his Majesty orders to be given, in Sevilla and in Mexico, for supplies on the two seas, and for the support of the religious in these two cities, is extremely scanty; and if his Majesty does not increase it he can have no just complaint against the religious who may act thus. In Sevilla he orders that two reals be given for each religious, every day; but three are necessary, at the least. In Mexico, he orders that four be given; but it is certain that six to each man would be little for their food, clothing, and shoes, and for the ordinary expenses of a house. In Sevilla there is assigned, for the supplies of each religious on the voyage, 22 ducats; whereas 40 at least are necessary, and, if it be a year of high prices, 50. In Mexico, for supplies on the other sea, and to pay the charges to the muleteers who transport the goods to Acapulco, and the expenses of the journey to that point with the religious, there is given for each one 150 pesos; but

200 are needed, and even that does not suffice. The reason for all this is, that these rates were set a long time ago, when things were much cheaper than at present; for goods could be bought for these sums to a much greater amount. This would be cause for the religious to plead that the [actual] expenses incurred for him should be allowed; and there is no other way [in which this difficulty can be settled].

Of both things we have illustration enough in this journey which was begun by father Fray Gabriel de San Antonio (whom may God keep in heaven), for, on account of the scanty aid that was given him at Sevilla, he left there a debt of one thousand two hundred ducados; and if his Majesty does not pay this, I know not whence his creditors will procure it. Then, as he had not the necessary freedom to dispose of his friars, seeing that there was no fleet that year, which is a second instance, he did what he should not have done – namely, among twenty-four religious whom he embarked with him, he took seven laymen, and, of the rest, one was insufficiently educated, and others were ill suited for the work in the Philipinas; so that counting those who were well fitted to go, they would not number twelve. It seems that he wished only to make it appear to the Council that he was embarking with friars, since this was commanded so insistently. He had, as I have been told, thirty religious quite suitable for the journey, ready to embark in the fleet; but as there was no fleet, and they saw that according to the orders of the Council they must embark in the heart of winter, and in weak craft, they, being discreet, returned to the houses from which they had come; and father Fray Gabriel, to comply with his orders, sought others in their places,

most of whom did not fill the places of the others, or come near doing so. From this resulted many expenses that might have been avoided; for if those who returned had been left in the convents of Andalucia, to come over in the fleet this year, all the expenses that were incurred would be obviated, and they would arrive at the proper time to go to the Philippinas, as they would come in the patages. Even if not all came, most of them could come, and none of these would have to be refused, as we have to do now – for, if the lord viceroy does not give permission to leave some, there is no use to consider sending religious there. Then I, who am going to seek them in España, for the second time, with so many labors and dangers, would find them half way, without the least cost to myself. Supplicate and beg this from his Excellency, by the bowels of Christ. The objection raised is that it will not be expedient for them to go; but I hope through God that it will be so, and that it will be explained to his Majesty that it is very important for his service. This is the truth, which I am bound to tell my king and lord, as his faithful vassal and servant, which I am.

FRAY DIEGO ADUARTE

Jesus, Mary

Father Fray Antonio de Santo Angel, procurator-general of the order of the discalced friars of our father St. Augustine, declares that in the year 1608 your Majesty gave permission to father Fray Pedro de San Fulgencio, of the said order, to return to the Philipinas Islands, taking with him thirty religious of his order, and six servants for their service. In the said year he was obliged to go to Rome to secure

some favors and jubilees from his Holiness; but an illness attacked him, and our Lord saw fit to take him unto Himself. For this reason his embarkation for the Philipinas did not take place, as he died on the way; and the funds that were given him for the purpose were lost. Since it has pleased the divine Majesty that the discalced Augustinian religious who are in those parts [58] should succeed in so satisfactory and exemplary a manner, preaching the holy gospel, and giving the light of our holy Catholic faith, and so earnestly striving for its increase – as your Majesty is informed by the archbishop of Manila, and the city and cabildo, and the bishop of Santissimo Nombre de Jesus. For all point out to your Majesty the great importance of sending religious of this holy order to the Philipinas; and that it is better to maintain there those who have been discalced, than those who enter from among the calced and are not instructed in the austerity to which the discalced are obliged. For this reason our very holy father, Paul V, separated and divided us from the calced fathers; and accordingly our father-general sent them a notification that his Holiness had separated them, and had sent an order that they should form a chapter and appoint a provincial – as will appear from the papers which I present, and from the letters of the archbishop of Manila, and from the bishop of Santissimo Nombre de Jesus, and from the letter from the city of Manila. From the letters of the religious it will

[58] Also known as Recollects (see VOL. XIII, p. 246 and *note*). When they arrived in the Philippines (1606), they established themselves in a suburb of Manila called Bagumbayan. See the detailed account of the circumstances attending the despatch of friars thither from this order, and of the beginning of their work in the islands, in La Concepción's *Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, pp. 189-265.

be plain to your Majesty how important it is for the service of our Lord to have a head and superior of the same penitent mode of life, so that this reformation may be preserved, and they may with fervor continue to gain souls for heaven and the increase of our holy Catholic faith. I therefore beg your Majesty to grant us the same despatches that were given to us for the said voyage, so that we may receive the favor of it. I likewise present the letter written by the Audiencia of Manila, in which your Audiencia states what are its intentions when anything is asked on the part of the Recollects.

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2. *Relations with the Chinese.*– (a) Memorials by archbishop: " Simancas – Eclesiastico; Audiencia de Filipinas; cartas y espedientes del arzobispo de Manila vistos en el Consejo; años 1579 á 1679; est. 68, caj. 1, leg. 32." (b) Letter to viceroy of Ucheo: the same as No. 1 (a). (c) Chinese immigration restricted: the same as No. 1 (b).

3. *Letters from Acuña.*– (a) Letters of July 1 and 8: the same as No. 1 (a). (b) Letter of July 15: the same as No. 1 (b).

4. *Dominican mission of 1606.*– "Simancas – Eclesiastico; Audiencia de Filipinas; cartas y expedientes de religiosos misioneros en Filipinas vistos en el Consejo; años de 1569 á 1616; est. 68, caj. 1, leg. 37."

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